

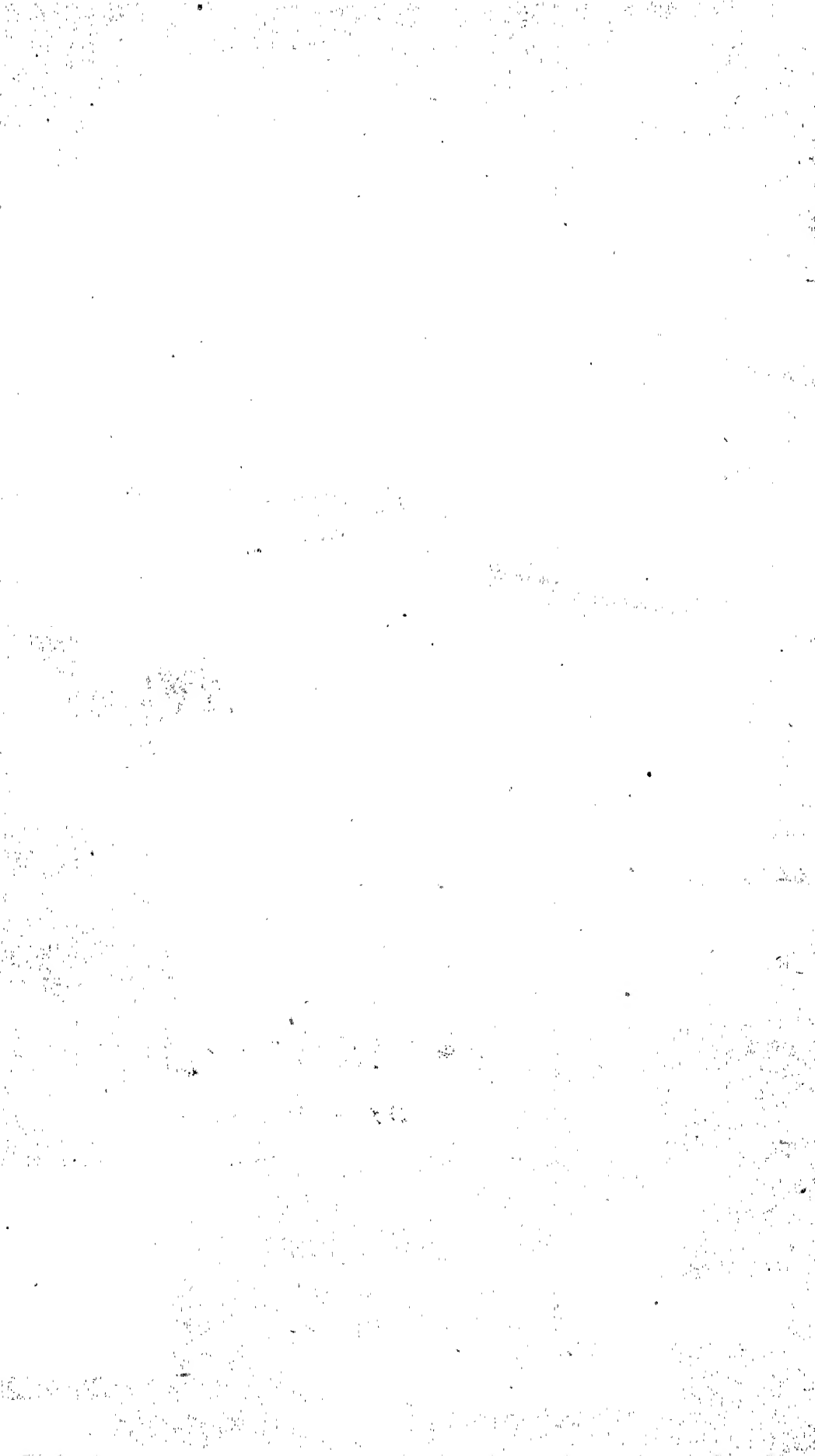
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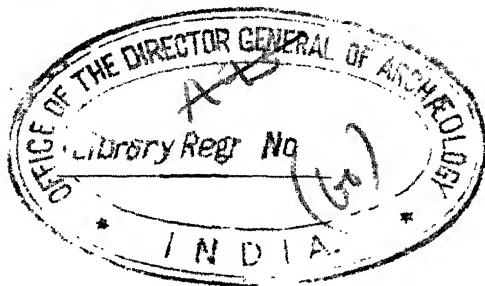
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J. J. M. DE GROOT. Sectarianism and religious persecution in China,
a page in the history of religions; in two volumes.

SECTARIANISM
AND
RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION
IN CHINA

SECTARIANISM AND RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION IN CHINA

A PAGE IN THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS

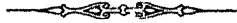
BY

J. J. M. DE GROOT

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II

The cultivation of Heresy is so injurious!
CONFUCIUS

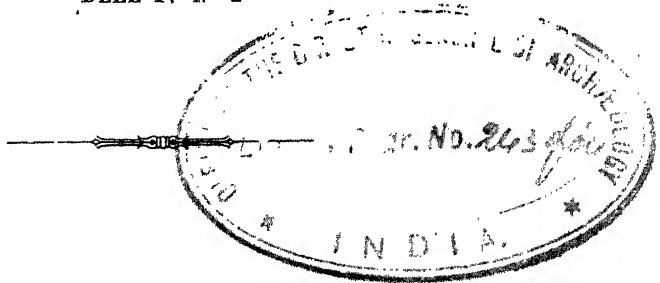


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NIEUWE REEKS

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CHAPTER IX.

PERSECUTION UNDER THE FIRST EMPERORS OF THE PRESENT DYNASTY.

A Government which has in its Penal Code a Law against Heresy and Heretics so fanatic, bloody and cruel as we have had to describe in the fourth Chapter, is hardly likely to refrain from putting this Law into regular, active operation. It has, indeed, as we have seen, illustrated this Law with a selection of exemplary cases of its actual application which are expressive and numerous enough to remove all doubt that, like its predecessor, the Ming dynasty, it regards religious persecution as an imperious state-duty which it is far from disposed to neglect.

This point being settled, it yet remains to be described to what extent the present Ts'ing dynasty has carried out the persecution-doctrine. Thus an answer may at the same time be given to the momentous question whether there is now in China, if not in theory, yet still in practice, some sort of religious liberty. This second, but not secondary part of our task we will try to fulfil, to the best of our ability, especially with the help of the one great mine of data at our disposal in this matter, viz. Imperial edicts and resolutions. This source is the most authentic that exists. Moreover it is of particular interest and value in this instance because the High Persecutor sketches himself therein with his own hand in all his hideousness, without making a caricature of himself by palliating his bloody work, always highly meritorious in his eye, and in which he glories ostentatiously.

As far as is known to us, only one standard collection of Imperial decrees of the now reigning House has appeared in print. It has been published by the care of the emperors themselves for the instruction of the Government, for, as the great Shing Tsu declared in the very first lines of the Introduction which he wrote in 1686 for this gigantic work: the decrees and the actions of previous sovereigns must be a stable guide for every emperor, his mandarins, and the people. Everybody, in fact, is bound by ancient, most sacred principle, to regulate his conduct by the

lessons, acts and precedents of former generations (page 267). This great collection, a photo-lithographed copy of which, containing one hundred volumes, is in the University Library of Leyden, bears the title of 聖訓 *Shing hiun*, "Sage or Imperial Instructions". The decrees of each Son of Heaven, commencing with T'ai Tsu 太祖, Novurh-hochih or Nurhachu, constitute a separate section or set of volumes. The oldest decrees are of the year 1616, when that Manchurian potentate assumed the Imperial dignity, 28 years before Peking, and with it the throne of the Ming dynasty, fell into the hands of his army. The collection ends with the life of Muh Tsung 穆宗, in 1874. The edicts of each emperor are arranged in chronological order under a certain number of headings, and those bearing upon heresy and persecution are in the main to be found under the headings 靖奸究, "Suppression of Refractory People" or of resistance against established authority — with which, as the reader is well aware, heresy must naturally be ranged, because it dissents from the true, orthodox Doctrine which the Government exclusively tolerates, upholds, and follows. There they stand amidst the edicts concerning rebels, thieves, robbers and pirates, kidnappers and slave-dealers, clan-fighters, grave-robbers, salt-smugglers, false-coiners, gambling-houses, opium-dens and opium-smokers, political societies purporting actual resistance against the powers that be, and other dregs of the nation. In this honorable company, highly instructive for students of China's actual social condition, the edicts concerning heresy-persecution are conspicuous by their numerousness, often by their absolute majority: a striking proof of the great importance the Chinese Government attaches to this subject.

A few edicts on religious persecution may also be found under the headings 厚風俗, "the making abundant of Fung-suh or good Manners and Customs". In one instance, namely in the edicts of T'ai Tsung, who died in 1643, the year before the conquest of Peking (see p. 92), we find them under 禁異端, "Prohibition of what diverges from Orthodoxy".

It is a matter of regret that in the *Shing hiun* of some emperors such headings, and, as a consequence, any decrees on the subject of religious persecution, are not to be found. Such is the case with the "Instructions" of the first emperor who actually swayed the empire, viz. Shi Tsu 世祖, who in 1644, a six year old child, was placed upon the throne at Peking. The whole collection of his *Shing hiun* in fact is very small, as compared with those of later emperors. In the *Shing hiun* of his son and suc-

cessor Shing Tsu, the famous emperor of the Khang hi period (1662—1722) who reigned for nearly sixty-one years, we also look in vain for the subdivision on the Suppression of Refractory People. But among his decrees on 嚴法紀, "the Severe Application of the Laws", we find one relating to religions and persecution. It was issued in 1687 on the 15th day of the second month (March 28), on a proposal of the Censorate. "Heterodox writings and romantic "and mythical tales", the Sage Emperor declares, "are verily able "to spoil and demolish the good manners and customs, and they "poison and mislead men's hearts. And as regards the heretical "religions of the Buddhist and Taoist clergy, they are in opposition "against the Laws on the Rules for Social Life (see p. 253), and "lead mankind astray even more and beguile the people. All such "matters must therefore be rigorously forbidden and stopped"¹.

The fact that in the *Shing hui* of Shing Tsu only this one decree bearing upon the extermination of sects is found, does in no wise prove that little or no persecution took place in his reign. This stern potentate certainly did not issue the decree just mentioned as waste paper; moreover, as we know from page 244, in his Sage Edict he categorically prescribed that all things deviating from the orthodox must be cast out, in order to promote the cultivation of orthodoxy. We have therefore to admit that the compilers of his Instructions, considering it needless to insert therein a subdivision about Repression of Resistance, laid aside also the decrees about that part of repression of resistance which we call religious persecution. Other proofs that heresy and heresy-hunting were matters of great moment for Shing Tsu, may indeed be found, namely in the great collection of state-papers entitled *Ta Ts'ing hui tien shi li*.

This contains in chapter 390 the peremptory rescript for the general extermination of religious communities, the translation of which we gave on page 153. Then follows in the same chapter a resolution of 1687, of the following import: "Untrust-
"worthy, foolish knaves, pseudo members of the Buddhist and
"Taoist clergy, sometimes pretend that patriarchs descend into them
"or into their divining-rods², and sometimes they then recklessly
"come forward with heresies and pretend to know the future. It
"happens also that people stir up the ignorant with idle and non-

¹ 淫詞小說實能敗壞風俗、蠱惑人心。至於僧道
邪教素悖禮法、其惑世誣民尤甚。俱宜嚴行禁止。

Chap. 25.

² See "Les Fêtes annuellement célébrées à Emoui", page 285 and foll.

"sensical talk, so that bands are formed which pay worship and "reverence to them, and voluntarily become their pupils and "followers. Henceforth such heretical religions shall be severely "prohibited throughout the eight Manchu Banners and the five "Wards of the Metropolis, and also in every Province by the "Viceroy or the Governor, and the Prefects"¹. — Finally we find in the same *Shi li* the following ordinance of that emperor of the year 1709, severely forbidding the celebration of religious ceremonies and feasts, and the formation of religious communities:

"Assembling crowds by sound of gongs and cymbals or drums, "in order to burn incense (in honor of gods or saints), on which "occasions the two sexes mix together — these and such like "iniquities have already been severely forbidden. But it is to be "feared that those old practices, which have existed so long, are "now flaming up anew. Therefore people who again carry palanquins "(with idols) or write charms, call forth agitation or attract fol- "lowers, shall altogether be prevented for ever from doing so. If "henceforth any one again presumes to do such a thing, the "Prefect of that district shall immediately investigate the case "and punish him. And if the Prefect does not examine the matter "seriously, then, if this is discovered in the Metropolis by the "Board to which he belongs, or in one of the provinces by his "Viceroy or Governor, that officer to whose jurisdiction the case "belonged shall be signalized by name, and reported"².

The *Shi li* was printed in 1818. Consequently, the above rescripts, as well as the whole mass of ordinances contained in that Collection, were up to that year dynastic standard laws, fully acknowledged as such by every emperor. Thus also Shing Tsu's line of conduct with regard to heresy must have been that of his son and successor Shi Tsung. Unlimited filial devotion which behoveth in

1 無賴狂徒假藉僧道爲名、或稱祖師降乩、或妄逞邪說、託言前知。或以虛妄之談鼓動愚蒙、至有群相禮拜、甘作徒從者。嗣後此等邪教通行八旗五城各省督撫地方官令其嚴行禁止。

2 鳴金擊鼓聚衆燒香、男女混雜等弊、曾經嚴禁。恐相沿日久舊俗復熾。再扶鸞書符招搖彙緣之輩皆應永行禁止。嗣後如有仍前擅行者、該地方官卽行究治。如不實心查究、在京或經該部查出、外省或經督撫查出、將該管官指名題參。 The same chapter.

China every son of man, urgently impels him to execute the will of his ancestry; and in particular this is an imperious duty of emperors, in their quality of highest champions for the Confucian truth, for the Sage himself taught explicitly: "The 'filial man is he who skilfully carries out the will of his fore-fathers, and well continues their undertakings'"¹. Can we then possibly wonder that Shi Tsung worked with zeal and fervour at the amplification of the maxim of his father's Sage Edict that heresy should be exterminated to make orthodoxy thrive, depicting therein with harsh colours the fate awaiting sectaries at the hands of the magistrates: themselves punished severely, their wives and children plunged in misery and woe? We must here keep in mind that this emperor, as all his predecessors, had also respectfully to follow in the footsteps of T'ai Tsung, the great founder of their throne, who (see page 150) had raged wildly against the heretical Friends of Virtue.

An irrefutable proof that Shi Tsung was actually engaged in the great work of persecution, is furnished by himself in a decree of the 29th of the sixth month (17th Aug.) of the year 1724, addressed to the then Provincial Governor of Kiangsi: "We consider "that the weeding out of the tares is the means of giving rest to "the loyal, and the expulsion of heresy is the way to promote "orthodoxy; that from old the rulers of the empire brought men's "minds to peace and concord, regulated manners and customs "(fung-suh) and rendered them uniform, and that not one "has ever neglected to make the repression of sedition the first "and chief object of his care"². Now it has come to my knowledge that there are many heretical sects in Kiangsi, which confer names and titles on their adepts, mislead the people, and meet at night. Because their members are so numerous and their existence is so seldom revealed, they must of necessity increase and spread rapidly, unless they are exterminated root and branch. If the Prefects do not persecute them, these officers themselves feed the spirit of resistance which possesses these sects; therefore the purifying of manners and customs (fung-suh) resolves itself in this, that the Viceroy shall instruct all his subordinate officers to make

¹ 夫孝者善繼人之志、善述人之事者也。 *Chung yung*, XIX.

² 朕惟除莠所以安良、黜邪乃以崇正、自古爲國家者綏輯人心、整齊風俗、未有不以詰姦爲首務也。 Chap. 5.

secret and zealous investigations concerning the sects and punish the leaders. Such "conversion to orthodoxy by the expulsion of heresy" (去邪歸正) I will requite with favours; initiative taken in such matters shall be rewarded; slow and indifferent officials I will severely punish. But the persecution must be carried on without alarm or noise, so as not to provoke panics and excitement among the people; only the leaders must be severely punished, and the misguided followers shall not be searched out too thoroughly.

And on the 23rd day of the ninth month (5th Nov.) of the year 1727 the emperor issued a decree to the high authorities of all the provinces, the latter part of which reads literally as follows:

"And now I have to consider the fatal language of the heretical "religions, which exercises so great an influence upon the human "mind and upon manners and customs (*fung-suh*). The Prefects "must, as soon as ever they hear of their existence, immediately "give all their attention to the matter, and track them to the "very root; then by dispelling such refractory elements they will "insure rest to the loyal and good. Such action I call: repressing "what so far is insignificant, in order to prevent its growth and "development. And if the subordinate officials keep such matters "secret, instead of reporting them; or if the high provincial autho- "rities knowingly and willingly make nothing of such matters, "then, necessarily and certainly, the refractory are made to slip "through the net; then seditious clubs have nothing to fear, and "those who join them and co-operate with them will increase "and multiply; then in the future there will be ever more of "(evil) consequences entailed. This is the way in which things "we want to put a stop to at the commencement, become the source "of quite a number of troubles. It is therefore best to repress "them early. In every province, the Viceroy and the Governor, "the Head of the Civil Service and the Chief Judge, as well as all the "Prefects, shall energetically attend to such matters without laxity"¹.

1 至於邪教妖言大有關於人心風俗。該地方官一有所聞、即當留心根究、庶可以消姦宄而安良善。所謂防微杜漸也。若下屬隱匿不報、或上司知之又欲化有事爲無事、勢必致姦宄漏網、匪黨無所忌憚、附和者愈衆、則將來株連者愈多。是本欲息事而轉致多事。故不如懲治之於早也。各省督撫藩臬皆地方大使勉之毋忽。 *Shing hiun*, chap. 6.

Nor did the Islamitic heretics escape the notice of this potentate. It has frequently been reported to me, he writes in a decree of the 7th of the fourth month (May 4) 1729 (*Sh. h. 7*), that these Mohammedans all follow one doctrine, that they use a peculiar language and dress, and constantly behave contrary to the laws, so that severe measures should be taken for their repression. But I desire that they shall be looked upon as my ordinary subjects, as "babes of the dynasty" (國家之赤子); for although they have their own mosques, and a peculiar language and religion handed down to them by their forefathers, they have the same manners and customs as the rest of the people; for their religion alone it would not do to prosecute them. There are, moreover, several state-servants among them, who are not without their good qualities. They muster strongest in Shensi, and there they are persecuted more than anywhere else, on account of their clubbing together to gamble, their secreting weapons, and for various other illegal acts. There they also unreservedly give expression to their wrath about the Imperial decrees forbidding the slaughter of horned cattle which are so indispensable to agriculture. They should therefore constantly be reminded to be kind and tolerant, not wantonly to oppress the weaker, nor by their greater intelligence to take in the ignorant, nor on the plea of their special religion to further their own interests, etc. Our will in this matter shall be proclaimed by the Viceroys and Governors throughout all the provinces.

Whence this meekness with regard to an exotic heretical religion imported by barbarians? No doubt it had no other ground than fear. The religion of Allah's prophet, as the quoted decree itself declares, had ramified in all directions over the imperial domains; its adherents were numerous and powerful enough to place their own interests in the foreground whenever they were pleased to do so; nay, they would in view of an eventual outbreak of state-persecution, be ready for a vigorous armed resistance. They did not even shrink from venting their discontent at certain imperial measures which thwarted their interests and their religious notions. They were, in short, a power to be feared and respected, not to be persecuted.

Once already they had shown themselves able to raise a tremendous force against the imperial armies. In the fourth month of the year 1648 they had risen in open rebellion in Kansuh, in the districts west of the Hwangho; they had conquered the departments of Kan-cheu 甘州, Liang-cheu 涼州, Lan-cheu 蘭州, Min-cheu

岷州, and Lin-t'ao 臨洮, and laid siege to Kung-ch'ang 鞏昌¹. Their chief leaders were Mi-lah-yin 米刺印², Ting Kwoh-tung 丁國棟, Fung Ming-ku 奉明故, and Chu Shih-ch'wen 朱識鏐. It was chiefly owing to the strategy and bravery of General Chao Kwang-sui 趙光瑞 and the Viceroy Meng Khiao-fang 孟喬芳, that imperial authority was restored in the rebellious province, the cities were re-conquered, the principal leaders put to death, and the insurgents thoroughly defeated, especially near the city of Kan-cheu. But it was not until the eleventh month of the following year that Suh-cheu 肅州 was taken with terrible slaughter, and the last remaining chieftain Ting Kwoh-tung was exterminated with his whole tribe.³

Thus the polity maintained towards Islam was one of haughty prudence or cowardice. That it was not a polity of religious tolerance pure and simple, is sufficiently proved by the mere fact that the Supreme Government found it necessary now and then to admonish the mandarinates to leave the Moslems in peace; for indeed, where toleration prevails, such admonitions have no reason to exist. Later on we shall have occasion to see that this pusillanimous polity was highly necessary, serious revolts provoked by persecution having actually shaken the Imperial throne.

The part of persecutor of religions, played by the State under the first emperors of this dynasty, may as yet be only dimly revealed for want of official and non-official documents — its hostile attitude with regard to Christianity is less shrouded in clouds, for it is rather circumstantially described in European literature how this religion has had to suffer at the hand of the mandarins.

1 The reader may consult here the sketch-map on page 313.

2 Or Mi Tszé-yin 米刺印?

3 We draw the above particulars mainly from chap. 7 of the *Shing wu ki* 聖武記 or "Description of Imperial Military Operations", a military history of this dynasty until 1842, the year of its publication. The author was Wei Yuen 魏源, a native of Shao-yang 邵陽 in Hunan, holding a high office in the Imperial Chancery. Some European writers have derived their material from this work. It is evidently compiled mainly from information obtained from the Imperial decrees, and, as many literal quotations prove, from the *Tung-hwa luh* 東華錄 or "Official Records of Tung-hwa", i. e. of an eastern gate of that name in the Palace, in the vicinity of which the 國史館 or Office for Dynastic Historiography stands. This office is an appendage of the Hanlin College. It is charged with compiling, from the Archives, the State-annals and the official biographies of eminent grandees and officers, and of a few very bad ones. The *Tung-hwa luh* appeared about the middle of the eighteenth century from the pen of one Tsiang Liang-khi 蔣良騏.

Never however has it been pointed out that this hostility was the necessary result of the State-polity with regard to all non-Confucian religions. Even the persecuted missionaries seem not to have been aware of this fact, for their writings generally show that they were wont to ascribe the persecutions simply to Satan's personal hatred against their holy religion.

It is a well-known fact that already in the beginning of the seventeenth century the Jesuits had pushed their way into China. Ricci and others, by their learning, especially in astronomy, mathematics and medicine, had secured influential positions at the Court of the then ruling Ming dynasty. At Peking they had some chapels; in 1700 they possessed three such buildings with Imperial sanction, one of which was of considerable size¹. They estimated their converts at several thousands, and counted even some among the Tartar grandees. From these facts it would seem that the later emperors of the Ming dynasty, and the earlier ones of the now reigning house were somewhat tolerant to Romanism. They however can only have been so as long as the professors of Christianity kept within bounds; for what foreigners thought or did within doors was a matter of supreme indifference to these haughty potentates. But their attitude must have promptly changed when the converts became so numerous that their growth could no longer escape attention, and when they were no longer lost among the masses of the people. As early as 1616 and 1617 the missionaries were expelled from the empire by the way of Canton², and a period of persecutions was entered upon, which did not end until 1622.

But especially about the middle of that century, when the conquest of the empire by the Ts'ing dynasty had become an accomplished fact, and this house thus got more leisure to attend to Confucian improvement and civilization of the people, the anti-heretical spirit showed itself in its true character also with regard to Christianity. In 1648, the Dominican Capellas who had laboured for six years to establish a Christian community at Fuh-ngan 福安, in Fuhkien, was put to death on the 15th of January, an event followed, of course, by the persecution of his converts. In 1664 and 1665, the seventy-five year old Schaal was imprisoned at Peking, together with Verbiest, owing to the zeal of the regency during the minority of Shing Tsu. Schaal was sentenced by the Board of Rites and that of Punishments to be slashed to death,

1 "Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses", XVI, p. 412.

2 Williams, The Middle Kingdom, chap. XIX, pp. 292 and 293.

but thanks to the empress-mother, the sentence was not executed. All missionaries residing in China were hunted up, imprisoned, tortured, and, with the exception of four retained at Peking in the service of the Government, banished from the country by the way of Canton; and the profession of Christianity was prohibited throughout the empire¹. True, a decree of 1669 allowed Verbiest and his fellow Jesuits to practise their religion in private, but it prohibited anew the promulgation of Christianity among the people². In March 1671, another decree peremptorily forbade the people to embrace Christianity, although the missionaries, owing to Shing Tsu's personal affection for Verbiest, had been re-established at Peking as official astronomers and almanac-makers.

Enmity and opposition of the high official world against Christianity — which, thanks to the perseverance, tenacious devotion and self-sacrifice of the missionaries, maintained its ground, and even spread, in spite of constant oppression — remained the order of the day. In 1692 the Viceroy of Chehkiang and Fuhkien set to work effectually. The manifesto in which he demanded the arrest of Intorcetta, the head of the mission at Hang-cheu, and also explained the why and wherefore of his anti-Christian measures, is quite an exposition of the Confucian anti-heretic dogma already known to us in its principal details. Huc gives us the translation of it³. The sixty-five year old Intorcetta probably owed his life to the affability which the emperor had showed him some years before when journeying through Chehkiang, and also to the intervention of an influential prince at Court. But the communities of converts were pillaged, the flock persecuted and scattered abroad, until an Imperial resolution taken in favour of the Christians put a stop to the cruel work.

Matters grew worse when the ecclesiastical orders, represented in the mission, drew the Government into their religious disputes, and thus fixed the attention of the State directly upon their heretical work and propagandism. Now the evil moment drew rapidly near in which the Government would make more of the harm done by the Christian heresies to the Confucian State and society, than of the benefits obtained from the missionaries in their functions of imperial astronomers, chronologers, physicians, gun-founders, and topographers. This crisis came in the latter years of the reign of Shing Tsu. In the "*Lettres Edifiantes*" we have but to read

1 Huc, "*Le Christianisme en Chine*", III, chap. I, 3.

2 "*Lettres Edifiantes*", XIX, p. 16.

3 *Op. cit.*, chap. IV, 3.

the frequent complaints of the missionaries about the thwarting of their labours by the grandees, and the increasing difficulties they had to battle against. The chief cause of all this, viz. the prevailing principles regarding heresy, remained a mystery to them, at least they never mention it in their reports. It was especially the Board of Rites — so they frequently state — that was hostile to them, and they dreaded nothing so much as any correspondence between this Department and the provincial Viceroy and Governors. In truth, to this Board, as its name *Li pu* 禮部 implies, the maintenance is entrusted of the Li or old orthodox rules for private and social life, rites, ceremonies and official religion (see page 8); and accordingly it is also responsible for the maintenance and execution of the Law against Heresy, which, as we know from page 253, is a part of the legislation bearing upon the proper preservation of the Li.

In 1717, a Brigade General (總兵) in Canton drew the attention of the supreme Government to the dangers for the empire from the missions, with the result that the high officials in Peking urgently demanded the prosecution of Christians as rebels, the demolition of their chapels, and punishment of mandarins who did not suppress their religion rigorously. The energetic efforts of the missionaries at Peking to prevent the issuing of an edict for the total extermination of Christianity, remained vain: Shing Tsu prohibited all missionaries from residing in China without a special licence granted by himself, and he let the mandarins in the provinces carry on the work of persecution to their hearts' content. Before the death of this emperor, as Father Gaubil wrote from Canton on November 4th, 1722, the chapels were in ruins, the Christians dispersed, the missionaries banished out of the country. And the new emperor, Shi Tsung, had only been on the throne for a year when he dealt the death-blow to the missions.

At the request of Man Pao 滿保, the Viceroy of Fuhkien and Chehkiang, and of the Board of Rites, he issued a decree on the 11th January 1724, commanding the expulsion of all missionaries, except a few whom he wished to keep at Peking in official employ — forcing the converts to renounce their religion, and threatening with punishment the mandarins, should they not act rigorously enough against them. The chapels were to be confiscated, and even the nice French church at Peking, according to Huc, was in August converted into a kind of hospital. The direct cause of this *débâcle* was the unfortunate Christian community in Fuh-ngan, founded by Capellas, and sealed with

his blood. Some literati of the place had lodged a complaint against those heretics with the local magistrates, who in 1723, by order of the Viceroy, proceeded to persecute and punish them, with confiscation of their eighteen chapels. The history of this persecution, which soon extended over the whole viceroyalty, has been described in detail by Father De Mailla in his letter from Peking, dated 16th October 1724. Of especial interest, as characterizing China's polity with regard to the Christians and heresy in general, is the correspondence which passed between the mandarins about this event. It is accurately reproduced in De Mailla's letter.

Since this crusade, which gradually passed over the whole empire, Romanism in China had to share the fate of the sects and religious communities sprung from Paganism and Buddhism: it was given over defenceless to the mercies of a fanatical Confucian mandarin, equipped by the State with that terrible scourge which we know as the Law against Heresy, until at last, in 1858, the treaties with European powers brought relief. Only in hidden spots could the scattered seed now germinate and grow, thanks to the care and devotion of native priests and catechists. Only carefully hidden amongst his flock could a missionary here and there manage to live, labour, and distribute the sacraments, often protected and succoured with touching fidelity and affection, often also tracked and hunted down, tortured, and martyred, with a greater or lesser number of converts, of whose sufferings, until doomsday, no human lips will tell.

It is difficult to admit that Shi Tsung acted in this matter under the pressure of a special anti-Christian spirit. Indeed, the fact that, as we saw on page 268, he issued in that same memorable year 1724 a decree against native heresy, proves, we believe, that he simply wanted to take rank as the Great Exterminator of heresy generally. But Christianity was by no means exterminated. Over and over again the mandarins would have to brandish the sword over it. The *Shing hiun* contains a certain number of Imperial ordinances on this subject, placed for the most part under the same headings as the decrees for the persecution of native sects and Mohammedans. These authentic documents doubtless have their value as solid materials for building up the history of Christianity in East-Asia. I will therefore insert in this Volume all I have discovered, in their original form, and each in its time, adding a faithful translation.

As for the emperors who reigned after Shi Tsung — their *Shing hiun* never lack the special subdivision about Repression of

Refractory People. They give us a picture of most awful persecution, of tremendous rebellions called forth by heresy-hunting and smothered in streams of blood. The number of Imperial Instructions, here presented, is so large that it would perhaps take some years to translate them. By literally reproducing those documents in this work, its bulk would be increased immoderately, without proportionately adding to our knowledge of the subject, many being practically mere repetitions of others, with different names of people and sects, places and dates. We therefore are obliged in most cases to epitomize; but we will do this conscientiously, giving exclusively what is virtually contained in the decrees, and no additions of our own not distinctly recognisable as such at a glance. On the other hand, we will endeavour to overlook and neglect nothing which may throw a clearer light upon Sectarianism and persecutions than has thus far been given in this work. Thus also we avoid painting the persecutor blacker than he is, which, in truth, would be like sending owls to Athens, since his own decrees paint him black enough, in fact as black as black can be. Nor shall we try to cleanse his image and thus debase it into a caricature. With the intention of giving him his due impartially, we submit the following Chapters confidently to the criticism of sinologists, who can always verify their contents in all points and details with the texts provided by the easily accessible *Shing hiun*.

The historical survey we shall give in this Volume of the persecutions, religious rebellions and wars which have raged between the years 1736 and 1875, can in no wise pretend to completeness. For the *Shing hiun* is not by any means a complete collection of edicts, but rather a selection. They also give but rarely any figures about sectaries slashed to death, beheaded, strangled or banished; and of the number of blows distributed in the tribunals, which may moderately be estimated at hundreds of thousands, we never read a word. On this subject the reader will have to supplement the lack of official data by what his own imagination tells. And sure enough, he need not much bridle his fancy here, considering the well-known monstrous cruelty of the mandarinates, especially when meting out punishment against opposition and sedition, with which, as we know (page 254), the Chinese Government is wont almost to identify the profession and promulgation of heresy.

The decrees however enable us clearly to define various episodes in the history of persecution, and to give names of, and particulars about heretics who have played a part of more or less significance.

Thus this Volume can provide students in the field of Sinology with certain land-marks which will facilitate further collecting and publishing, from Chinese sources, particulars about religious persecutions and Sectarianism. This work is in fact, far from exhausting the subject. Our harvest of data in the case of each particular heretic-hunt is small; but, collectively taken, they form a collection of interesting materials which gives us a better survey of the subject than has hitherto been obtained by the superficial and promiscuous information, rather misleading than instructing, of certain sinologists and second-hand writers, who rule the opinion of the reading public. Those data reveal some interesting phenomena of Chinese religious life. They tell us with what undaunted zeal the sects send out their branches in different directions; how indestructible they are; how powerful an organization binds the numerous fraternities together; how strong must be the influence of religion which effects all this. Our sources will reveal how the sects, arming in self-defence, have made Sons of Heaven tremble on their throne. And, constantly and regularly, they will confirm our demonstrations as regards the standpoint and line of action adopted by the State as persecutor, that is to say, as champion of the only true Confucian Doctrine.

In one respect in particular the subsequent Chapters will be disappointing: they will tell us little about the religious doings and aspirations of the sects. Such matters are beneath the notice of authors of Imperial decrees, as also they are, as we saw p. 154, beneath the legislator's attention. To such sterling Confucianists they are at most curiosities, and when a few times they deign to dish up what they extorted on this head from tortured heretics or obtained by hearsay, they do so with gross superficiality. Nevertheless, what the decrees here give us may often prove useful for completing and confirming our own researches about the sects, the results of which we have compiled in the First Volume.

CHAPTER X.

THE FIRST PART OF THE REIGN OF KAO-TSUNG.
1736—1774.

The first anti-heretic measure recorded of this emperor, was directed against the Christians.

Evidently, at the time of his accession, Christianity had many converts at Peking also among the population of the Tartar city. Hence the emperor found it needful in the first year of his reign to decree, that "the people of the Eight Banners were not permitted to embrace the religion of the Lord of Heaven, and that all the Generals of those Banners should be ordained to prohibit that religion everywhere by proclamation; further, that all who infringed this decree should incur the most severe of punishments"¹. This edict evidently was not sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal, for it was allotted a place in the great collection of standard ordinances *Ta Ts'ing hwii tien shi li*. Its promulgation coincided with a general persecution which at that time raged in Peking over the Christians, the particulars of which may be found among the "Lettres Edifiantes", Vol. 22, in a treatise entitled: "Etat de la Religion dans l'Empire de la Chine, en l'année 1738". These events are also described by Huc in "Le Christianisme en Chine", IV, chap. 2.

On the 12th of the fourth month (19th May) of A.D. 1739, a decree (*Sh. h.* 251) informed the Council of State that the Throne had received intelligence of a persecution in the district of Kiang-yin 江陰, forming part of Ch'ang-cheu 常州, a southern department of Kiangsu. A certain Hia Tien-yiu 夏天佑, with four others, had founded a sect there "which abstained from forbidden food and recited religious scriptures" (茹素誦經), and in the religious exercises of which both sexes took part. This religion

¹ 八旗人等不得入天主教、應令各該旗都統等通行曉諭禁止、違者從重治罪. Chap. 390, fol. 12.

came from the west. Chang Pao-t'ai 張保太, its chieftain, dwelt in Yunnan province, in the department of Ta-li 大理, in Ts'ang-shan 倉山; he was more than eighty years old, and called himself a descendant in the forty-eighth generation from Dharma 達摩, by birth from the principal house-wife. In Kiang-yin the sect was more than two hundred members strong. The year before, Hia T'ien-yiu himself had visited the headman. He and the other captives distributed sacred writings, and gave every member for one or two coppers a printed or written paper, treating of nothing else but fasting and reciting. The Prefect of the district had received orders to expose those five men in the cangue and thus force them to apostasy, and to see that the writings were voluntarily delivered up within a fixed period by all those who had received them, to be properly burnt. Moreover, to the Viceroy and the Provincial Governor of Yunnan had been sent reports of the matter, to enable them to take the necessary measures. The emperor ordains that that Viceroy, Khing Fuh 慶復 by name, shall be prescribed by the Council of State to take steps for the discovery and prosecution of that Chang Pao-t'ai and his crew, so that this religion may be utterly destroyed.

Dharma, of whom Chang Pao-t'ai was a so-called descendant, is the great apostle of Buddhism, also known as Bodhidharma 菩提達摩, who, according to tradition, came to China in A.D. 521. He holds position in the Chinese Church as the twenty-eighth in an unbroken line of Ancestors or Patriarchs (祖) of the Church in India, who transmitted the pure doctrine from the founder himself. The first of them was Kācyapa, Buddha's chief disciple, to whom the Master intrusted the complete Canon of the Holy Script, as also his alms-bowl or Patra, and his mendicant garment or Sanghāti, the symbols of ascetic religious life which will lead mankind to Salvation as long as the Church exists. That Canon, or the Religious Truth representing the Dharma or Law, with those two emblems of the Sangha or religious community, having been handed down in the line of Patriarchs unto Bodhidharma, he carried them to China¹, transmitting them at his death to a new series of Grandmasters, among whom we now suddenly find the heresiarch Chang Pao-t'ai.

But here we must take into consideration that there exist in the Buddhist Church of China several lines of Patriarchs. Every convent representing a school of Salvation of which the Church

¹ See the Old Books of the T'ang Dynasty, chap. 191, fol. 22, and various other works.

has many, possesses indeed its own series, and especially is this the case with the monasteries of the various ramifications of the prevalent School of Dhyāna (禪宗), the importation of which into China passes in particular for Bodhidharma's work. The pedigree of such departed Grandmasters or Abbots is as a rule represented in the convent by a row of images or soul-tablets, preserved and worshipped in a special apartment or chapel, in which Bodhidharma's effigy occupies the principal place. The oldest tablet is generally that of the founder or first abbot. Each living abbot is not only Bodhidharma's lawful successor for the maintenance of Buddha's doctrine of Salvation, but also an incarnation of his spirit. It is generally admitted that the soul of the great Patriarch lives in him. So every new abbot means a re-incarnation of the Saint.

This curious monachal institution we now, through that Imperial edict, see prevailing also in secularized Buddhism which we have learned to know as Sectarianism. But it seems to follow from that state-document that Chang Pao-t'ai and his forty-seven predecessors were married men, each of whom was succeeded by a son of his principal housewife; so Bodhidharma, although undoubtedly a saint of unimpeachable austerity, who never touched a woman, does not object to transplanting his own soul into others by means of sexual intercourse of human bodies possessed by that soul. The question here arises whether Chang Pao-t'ai really had so many predecessors as the decree makes out, and whether Sectarianism is really so old, and derives its origin from the Indian apostle. Very possibly it is all a romance, not at all an unusual thing in India as regards the genealogy of Sectarianism.

The details of that campaign in distant Yunnan against the heretical pontiff and his sect, are not given in the *Shing hien*. We only learn that he did not this time meet his death at the hands of the mandarins, but was probably exiled (*infra*, p. 282). Evidently his sect was large and numerous, to judge from the fact that it sent its propagandists as far as Kiangsu, a province at the opposite extremity of the empire.

The White Lotus sect, which apparently had its branches chiefly in the western and south-western provinces, at that time seriously attracted the attention of the high Imperial Government. On the 19th of the fourth month (5th June), 1746, the emperor decreed to the Council of State, "that a missive of Chang Kwang-szē" — Viceroy of Shensi and Kansuh — "informing him that "the White Lotus sect was enlisting adherents and followers,

"should be copied and sent to the Viceroy and Governors of Szŕ-ch'wen and Yunnan for their instruction, that they might carefully take measures in the matter. That heretical sects of this sort mislead the people, is a thing which ought not to occur in the districts; why then do they so frequently appear in these latter days? They must be prosecuted, to restore the proper condition of things; do not treat them leniently; do not neglect them, for the prevention of future disastrous consequences. Slay their leaders, together with their adherents and followers and other unruly people; the most excellent manner is to do this with phantom speed, and so that it gain no publicity" ¹.

The bloodthirsty tenor of this decree raises our suspicion that the Imperial Government was aware of a prevailing spirit of sedition among the sects, provoked, no doubt, by the persecutions, a spirit which at any moment might entail "disastrous consequences", that is, burst out into rebellion. Sanguinary repressive measures would intimidate the people, and save the state of things. A general anxiety may at that time have seized the official world, serious apprehensions of coming evil, leading to persecution everywhere. The Christians, too, were the victims of it. In that same year 1746 the mandarins set to work against the community at Fuh-ngan, which their display of energy in 1723 had not been able entirely to destroy. This led to the persecution of Christians also in other parts of the empire, for it induced the emperor to issue an order for their extermination in every province. This document, given to the State Council on the 22d of the sixth month (Aug. 11), ran as follows:

"There are at present in the department of Fuh-ning, in Fuh-kien, Europeans directing the exercise of the religion of the Lord of Heaven, by whom men and women are convoked to perform religious ceremonies and recite sacred books. They also employ foreigners (as catechists?) to seduce and deceive the ignorant people; they appoint leaders for their communities, build religious halls (chapels), and perform all sorts of illegal acts. That with these heterodox doctrines they inflame the minds

¹ 張廣泗奏白蓮教招引徒衆一摺可鈔寄四川雲南督撫閱看、留心辦理。此等邪教惑人乃地方不應有之事、何以近日屢見之。務須辦理得宜、毋縱、毋濫、以除後患。殲厥渠魁脅從罔治、而又在神速不露爲妙也。 *Shing hiun*, chap. 252.

"of the people and mislead them, is most detrimental to the
 "manners and customs (fung-suh). Already long ago Christianity
 "has been strenuously prohibited; and whereas it nevertheless
 "behaves in this manner in Fuhkien, the possibility is that it
 "has also spread in all the provinces, though as yet there have
 "been no means of finding this out. Therefore, orders shall be sent
 "by you to the Viceroy or Governor of each province, to the
 "effect that they shall secretly instruct their Prefects to make
 "strict investigations; and if there be people who with their
 "Christian doctrine seduce men and women to hold meetings
 "and prayer-readings, they shall immediately be sought for,
 "arrested, and sentenced by the Law (against Heresy), according to
 "whether they are leaders or followers. And the Europeans shall
 "all be arrested and sent to Kwangtung, and from there within
 "the fixed period of time embark for their country; — they shall
 "not be tolerated here to create troubles. If there should be
 "Prefects who do not with their whole energy search for them
 "and arrest them, but who let them be and do not report con-
 "cerning them, their Viceroy or Governor shall immediately inquire
 "into this their conduct, and bring the same to Our knowledge" ¹.

Minute details of this persecution are furnished in the letter of Father Chanseau, inserted in the "Lettres Edifiantes" XXIII, p. 40. Bands of soldiers were let loose among the Christians in the city of Fuh-ngan and the village of Mo-yang; men and women were tortured and ill-treated; five Spanish missionaries, amongst whom was Bishop Sanz, were imprisoned, and after cruel torture sent up to the capital of the province, and there sentenced to death by the Governor Cheu Hieh-kien 周學健. On the 21st of April of the following year their sentence was confirmed

¹ 現在福建福寧府屬有西洋人倡行天主教、招致男女禮拜誦經。又以番民誘騙愚氓、設立會長、創建教堂、種種不法。挾其左道煽惑人心、甚爲風俗之害。天主教久經嚴禁、福建如此、或有潛散各省亦未可知。可傳諭各省督撫等密飭該地方官嚴加訪緝、如有以天主教引誘男婦聚衆誦經者、立即查拏、分別首從按法懲治。其西洋人俱提解廣東、勒限搭船回國、毋得容留滋事。倘地方官有不實心查拏容留不報者、該督撫卽行叅奏。 *Shing hiun*, chap. 252.

by the emperor; the bishop was publicly beheaded on the 26th of May, and the four other priests were strangled in jail on the 28th of October 1748. On the 12th of September before, the sentence of strangulation had also been applied in the prison of Su-cheu, in Kiangsu, to the missionaries Tristan de Athemis, and Henriquez. The persecutions which preceded this execution have been described by Father Forgeot in his letter of December 2d, 1750 (*Lettres*, XXIII p. 125). We also refer to Du Halde, III p. 126 and foll., and to Huc, IV chap. III.

It appears that the persecutions of 1746 raged especially in Szě-ch'wen. According to an Imperial decree (*Sh. h.* 252) of the 6th of the seventh month (Aug. 22) of that year, the Governor of that province, Ki Shan 紀山, reported that he had instituted a prosecution of sects of "refractory people heard of everywhere, making common cause with the refractory elements of each province" (此等奸民廣通聲氣、勾結各省匪類), sects collecting contributions, stirring up and misleading the people. He referred to the fact that by Chang Pao-t'ai (p. 278) having been restored to liberty in consequence of the promulgation of an amnesty, Sectarianism had been encouraged to send out its ramifications abroad in all directions. According to his report, the religious community he was prosecuting, was an Iron Ship sect (鐵船教), which, according to one of the captive heretics, had no connection with the Mahayāna sect; but the emperor declares this to be probably untrue, since Chang Kwang-szě (see p. 279), when Viceroy of Kweichu and Yunnan, had positively reported to the Throne that a member of the Mahayāna society, a Buddhist priest, had confessed that this sect had three sorts of ships, viz. Iron ships, Dharma-ships (法船), and Plague-ships (瘟船). This matter, H. M. declares further, is of the utmost importance. The Viceroy of Shensi and Szě-ch'wen, Khing Fuh, — the same authority who seven years previous, as Viceroy of Kweichu and Yunnan, had instituted the persecution against Chang Pao-t'ai and his sect (p. 278) — was just then in Szě-ch'wen¹; he should deliberate with the Governor about the best way of conducting the matter, without mercy or indulgence, so as to get to the bottom of it, to avert worse difficulties from the Government.

Six days later, the emperor issued a decree to his Council of State to intensify the persecutions of the Mahayāna sect throughout the

¹ He happened to be there on a campaign, opened in the fourth month against the Tibetan region of Chen-tui 瞻對.

empire. Various Viceroys and Governors, thus we read in that state-paper, hunted for the names of its members, and issued orders for their arrest and examination, with the object of exterminating that religion root and branch. But in spite of all this, not enough was brought to light. Those grandees were now to be instructed to extend their searches still further and no longer to allow any sectaries known by name to go free and nestle everywhere. Members, reported by captives in Yunnan and Kweichow as dwelling in Szŕ-ch'wen, had not been tracked and hunted up in this latter province; and also those reported from Szŕ-ch'wen as inhabiting the two other provinces, had been left free; in this manner the rebellious enemies of the State were allowed to slip through the net. The authorities should endeavour to get hold of ignorant folk enticed to become members, but now voluntarily reporting themselves with the mandarins as apostates, that they may receive pardon and remain unpunished. For it is they who could furnish the threads leading to new persecutions and to the discovery and punishment of leaders and followers; and such threads the Prefects should at all times clasp hold of and follow. All Viceroys and Provincial Governors shall be admonished to conduct themselves in accordance with this Imperial edict!

Thus we see the Son of Heaven himself from his throne directing the persecution of heresy into the remote provinces of his empire. On the 7th of the ninth month (21st Oct.) he issues a decree (*Sl. h.* 252), in which he requires that after the prosecution of the sects, their abstinence-halls (齋堂), sacrificial temples (祠廟), and Sutra-halls (經堂) shall be converted into guard-houses for the soldiery, into graineries, or into free schools for Confucian teaching; — by this means the Prefects "will prevent the lingering ashes from bursting again into flame" (毋使餘燼復熾). And on the 2d of the eleventh month (13th Dec.) another decree appeared (*Sl. h.* 252), prescribing that, the persecutions now drawing to a close, all books and writings of the Mahayāna sect in the provinces of Szŕ-ch'wen, Yunnan and Kweichow should be annihilated, and the Viceroys and Governors in Kiangsu and Hukwang, after having finished their work of persecution, should also carefully destroy and burn the dangerous objects of this kind which had fallen into their hands.

Figures or particulars which to some extent might help us to determine the destruction of human life, the number of banishments to the dependencies in Central Asia and Manchuria, and the number of people scourged, tortured and maimed during this storm of persecution, are not furnished by the *Shing hiun*. But

the victims cannot possibly have been few, from the fact revealed in the decrees, that the storm raged in many provinces and viceroyalties. The terrorism was not only directed against Sectarianism, but against religious practices in general, quite according to the letter and the spirit of the Law on Heresy and Sects. We may take this for granted on account of a decree of the 22d day of the eleventh month (23rd Dec.) of the year 1747, which is here inserted in full, also because it throws light upon the question which occupied us on pp. 17 and foll.:

"We have heard that in the province of Min (Fuhkien) the "manners and customs are such that great interest is taken in "spirits, and confidence is placed in priests (wu). When it happens "there that rainy and fair weather do not come in due season, "people without resources, intending to fatten themselves by collecting money, come forth, and pretend that the god or buddha "in such and such a place will manifest his power; and they make "the crowds gather there to receive that god and sacrifice to him, "or they carry his image into the street, inducing even the Prefect "to prostrate himself before it and worship it, and to receive it "and see it off. These various kinds of bad practices are unclassical (puh king). Whenever in a district it rains too much, or "drought prevails, it is obligatory for the officers, from the Viceroy "and the Governor down to the Prefects of departments and "districts, to address prayers to the gods with the utmost fervour, "and thus request them to save the lives of the people; what then "is the good of villains calling together crowds, carrying about "gods, and making officials join them? This is the way to provoke quarrels and disturbance, to embroil matters and create "troubles; such things are therefore very detrimental to good "manners and customs (fung-suh) and the human mind. The "practices in question must be cut off for ever; they may exist "no longer. From this moment they must be severely forbidden, "and if any one should make himself guilty of them, he must be "punished in accordance with the Law. And if some Prefect should "be so remiss in attending to these official duties that his indulgence "or indifference gives food to sedition, the Viceroy or the Governor "of the province must examine and punish his conduct. And if in "any other province bad practices like the above should prevail, "the Viceroy or Governor there must proceed against them all" ¹.

¹ 朕聞閩省風俗尙鬼信巫。偶遇雨暘失時、遂有無藉之徒、意在斂錢肥己、因而詭稱某處神佛靈

As was to be expected, the persecutions provoked resistance, which the Government sought to crush with an increase of cruel violence. The *Shing hiun* (chap. 252) contains a decree of the 1st, and one of the 20th of the third month (30 March and 18 April) of 1748, which teach us something about these events. In the districts of Ngeu-ning 甌寧 and Kien-ngan 建安, in Fuhkien, the Prefects were prosecuting the sects and making arrests among the "fasting communities of the Old Ruler" (老官齋會), known to us as Lo Hwai. They thus caused great agitation among the members, who committed incendiarism and stormed the prison, in order to liberate their brethren and leaders, — or at least they plotted such open rebellion; but their designs were frustrated by the authorities, who then captured and imprisoned over two hundred of them. In Our name, thus the emperor decreed, orders shall be sent to the Prefects to pursue the prosecution of those sects with the utmost severity. The Mahayāna sect, he complains, which in a previous year was involved in the lawsuit of Chang Pao-t'ai in Yunnan, has its ramifications in several provinces, and the number of heretical clubs (邪黨) amounts to hundreds, all because, in spite of Imperial ordinances and demonstrations, the Prefects have neglected to act with energy when these things were as yet in their birth. And now again there exist in Fuhkien abstaining communities of the Old Ruler, with other sects into the bargain, which, when the Prefects imprisoned their crew, were seized with fear, and to prevent further discoveries and total annihilation, banded together and mutinied; but the military power has dispersed and exterminated them. In Shansi also a Sheu-yuen sect (收元教) has been founded by one Han Teh-ying 韓德榮 and others, into which people initiate each other — likewise in consequence of the fact that

應、聚衆迎賽、或將神像擡至街衢、挾令地方官跪拜迎送。種種惡習殊屬不經。凡地方遇水旱、自督撫大吏以至州縣有司固當竭誠致禱明神爲民請命、豈有棍徒藉口聚衆擡神挾持官長。因而召爭起衅、滋生事端、甚爲風俗人心之害。此風斷、不可長。嗣後著嚴行禁止、倘有違犯卽照律治罪。地方官倘或悠忽政事姑息養奸、卽著該督撫叅處。他省或有似此惡習者、著該督撫一體辦理。 *Shing hiun*, chap. 263.

the Viceroys and Governors in the various provinces, on receipt of the Imperial mandates in previous years, have limited themselves to the promiscuous arrest of small numbers of Mahayānists, leaving the other communities undisturbed. A report from the Viceroy of Fuhkien has revealed, that according to their writings, the abstaining communities of the Old Ruler have existed there for three generations, and were founded by the Patriarch Lo (羅祖), on account of which they are called the Lo sects (羅教). In the seventh year of the Yung ching period (1729) the prosecutions instituted and the arrests made have shown that this religion has wide ramifications in Chihli, Kiangnan (i. e. Kiangsu, Kiangsi and Nganhwui), in Shantung, Chehkiang, and Fuhkien. The emperor emphatically commands in strong terms, that in all provinces the Mahayāna sect and the religion of the prophet Lo shall be exterminated.

The exasperation of the people against their persecutors was certainly not abated by the mandarins thus mercilessly hunting for their religious leaders and brethren with bands of soldiery and police; nor was this terrorism likely to quench the burning spirit of resistance and self-defence, continuously fanned by the desire to liberate the martyrs from the cruel clutches of their oppressors. Indeed we are informed by a decree of the 9th of the fourth month (May 5), that the persecutions in Ngeu-ling and Kien-ngan had scarcely been brought to a close, when a certain Sié Lung 謝隆 with one Liang Yuen-fah 梁元法 manufactured false decrees said to be of the Viceroy, and false seals, for the purpose of rekindling the flame of opposition. How these rebels despise death! moans the emperor in his decree. "Even Our virtues and benefits remain without influence upon them; even Our overawing majesty cannot keep them under authority" (實乃德不能感、威不能制). See to what depth of corruption of heart and customs these Fuhkieneses have fallen! Imperial ordinances shall be sent to Khoh'rh-kih-shen 喀爾吉善, the Viceroy, for the institution of strict investigations and arrests in the matter of these fasting rebels of the religion of the Old Ruler, in order that their resistance may be destroyed root and branch, and the Government be spared future trouble. "Not only the leaders must be prevented from slipping through the meshes, for if but one or two other villains of that rebel crew remain in existence, they will, like surviving larvae and eggs of locusts, become a most serious plague to the land" (不但首惡不可漏網、但奸匪餘孽有一二人存留、即如遺蝗蝻種深為地方之害).

The rebels already involved in this lawsuit shall forthwith be banished, and care shall be taken that no considerable numbers of them be kept together in the same place, as this might lead to fresh mutiny to liberate them. And the Viceroy shall further be instructed that, in case of recurrence of such riots, the soldiers must catch the leaders alive, in order that they may be strictly examined and further confessions and information may be extorted from them; but the bulk of the rioters can be slaughtered to any extent, to teach refractory people what they have to fear; etc. (*Sh. h.* 252).

An Imperial edict of the 17th of the third month (3rd May) of the next year (1749) shows that this Viceroy gave the heretics in his provinces no breathing time. This document (*Sh. h.* 253) contains communications respecting a certain member of the religion of Lo (羅教), Yen Yiu-hwui 嚴友輝 by name, who, assisted by several others, had in the district of Ning-hwa 寧化 rescued by force a co-religionist, named Cheu T'ien-fuh 周天福, out of the hands of the mandarins. In other parts of the empire also the official persecutors of the same religion were not remiss. On the 16th day of the sixth month (29th July) an Imperial decree was issued (*Sh. h.* 253) regarding the religion of Lo in the district of Jü-yuen 乳源, in Kwangtung, all the members of which had been taken prisoner, and one fugitive was arrested in Hunan. In the usual browbeating, overbearing terms the Son of Heaven decrees a renewal of energetic measures against that sect in Kwangtung and Hunan, as also in all other provinces of the empire.

It is possible that this triennial period of persecution appalled the sectaries so much that their communities dissolved, or concealed themselves with great caution, while the mandarins were sleeping on their laurels, in the blissful conviction of having utterly destroyed them. At any rate, there follows now a short period for which the *Shing hiun* gives no decrees regarding persecution. It is just as possible, however, that this silence proves nothing of the kind, and that the persecutions continued during that time as cruelly as ever. In 1754, in the intercalary month following the fourth, there appeared a decree highly commending the Viceroy of Szě-ch'wen, Hwang T'ing-kwei 黃廷桂, for the exemplary manner in which he had prosecuted the deceitful heretic Ch'en Tsze-hieh 陳子學 and his followers; he had sentenced him to death, and condemned the others to various penalties. This edict also reminds all state-

servants of the prosecution to which they expose themselves by treating heresy with laxity and negligence. And in an Imperial decree of the 5th of that same month (26th May) we come upon further reports concerning persecution of Christians.

"This day", thus writes the Emperor to the Council of State, "memoirs have been presented to Us by Nghoh Yung-ngan (the Governor of Honan), and by Ya 'rh-hoh-shen (the Viceroy of Kiangnan), with particulars about the prosecution of arrested promulgators of the European heretical religion. The European religion of the worship of the Lord of Heaven (God) is practised of old in their land, and has spread there, as is the case here with the doctrines of the Buddhist monks and nuns, the Taoist clergy and the Mohammedans; where indeed, do not such deviations from Orthodoxy exist? But it is not to be compared with the heretical sects of the inner country, which open halls to hold meetings, and are established here and there as seditious elements. Europeans living at Canton and Macao are not prohibited from professing their religion amongst themselves, but this may not be considered the same thing as natives of the inner country being drawn away by them one by one to follow their example. Should they be found hiding anywhere in the various departments, districts and villages, to inflame and mislead the ignorant folk or cause men and women to meet together, this must of course be stopped by rigorous means¹.

"Now the said Viceroy has in this matter already instituted investigation and prosecution; but orders from Us shall be transmitted by you to Nghoh Yung-ngan, Khoh 'rh-kih-shen (Viceroy of Fuhkien and Chehkiang, see p. 286), and Chwang Yiu-kung (Governor of Kiangsu?), to the effect that they shall continue the prosecution to its very end, to prevent the evil from spreading. Chang Joh-seh (Joseph...?) arrested in Kiangnan, and P'ing Ta-ts'ien, arrested in Fuhkien, shall be sent up to Macao and forced to remain there; and let the Viceroy and the Governor of Kwang-

¹ 今日鄂容安等及雅爾哈善奏習、內俱有拏獲傳播西洋邪教之案。西洋所奉天主教乃伊土舊習相沿、亦如僧尼道士回回、何處無此異端。然非內地邪教開堂聚衆散割爲匪者可比。若西洋人在廣東澳門自行其教本在所不禁、原不必如內地民人一一繩之以法。如其潛匿各州縣村落煽惑愚民、或致男女雜遯、自當嚴爲禁絕。

"tung be ordained henceforth constantly to watch them carefully, lest they steal into the other provinces to entice people into their religion and create troubles. Let this be done!"

Evidently this decree does not refer to an anti-Christian crusade of little extent, although the particulars given are almost as scanty as they can be. Among the persecutors-in-chief we find the Viceroy of Fuhkien. Indeed, it was again the communities of Fuh-ngan that had to smart under the blows. Unfortunately we have found only one more decree which contains a few particulars about these events. It was addressed to the State Council on the 27th day of the eighth month (13th Oct.) of the same year 1754, and runs as follows:

"Khoh 'rh-kih-shen reports to Us, that P'ing Ta-ts'ien, also named P'ing Wen-tszë, has come with bad European foreigners to Fuh-ngan to propagate their religion, and that, as he is originally a native of Fuh-ngan, he must after the expiration of his banishment somewhere in the interior, be sent back to his birth-place, and delivered up to his clan, who shall receive him and keep him under control, etc., etc."

"Now if", the emperor declares, "these kind of people who do not keep to their duty, are banished to the inner country, nothing warrants Us that they shall not provoke disturbance there; and if, after the expiration of their term of exile, they be sent back to their family-seat, it is positively certain that they will voluntarily and knowingly make the seed of propagation shoot up again, to stir up and seduce others. The proposal that the man in question shall be restored to his clan, to be received by it and kept under control, is good in theory, but has no intrinsic value. The Viceroy therefore shall simply apply the penal law to him, and as there is as yet no unanimity of opinion as to the proper punishment to be applied in this instance, it shall be deliberated upon whether the culprit shall not rather be settled in some region with a pestilential

1 今該督等既經查辦、著傳諭鄂容安喀爾吉善莊有恭只可就案完結、毋致滋蔓。將江南現獲之張若瑟、福建現獲之馮大千等、解回澳門安插、并諭令廣東督撫嗣後不時留心稽察、毋任潛往他省教誘滋事。可耳。 *Shing hiun*, 19.

2 喀爾吉善奏馮大千即馮文子並非西洋番夷潛至福安傳教、實係福安民人、應俟徒限滿日解回原籍交親族收管、等語。

"climate in Kwangsi or some other province, to live there under severe control and oppression. Thus be it shown in what manner deterrent punishments are inflicted. Transmit this order to the Viceroy"¹.

Very little seems to have been written about this episode in the persecution of Christianity. Even Huc is silent on the point. Lamatthe on the 6th of January 1756 wrote about five missionaries imprisoned at Nanking, and about Da. Rocha who was being pursued everywhere; also about Christian communities ill-treated and tortured². On the 20th of August 1759 he wrote again that the persecutions were still going on without relaxation³. More particulars may have been published somewhere, but we have not found them.

On the 28th day of the eighth month (Oct. 6) 1760, a decree to the Council of State (*Sh. h.* 254) informs us that in Szĕ-ch'wen a certain Sung Chao-lun 宋朝倫 and several others had been severely prosecuted on account of seducing the people by means of heresy, and for the making and spreading of papers breathing senseless or objectless opposition (狂悖字帖)⁴. How easily, His Majesty declares, such heresies and seductive things do spread! The papers in question (diplomas?) bear the characters 岸前琉瓶, "the crystal vase before the coast", in which no doubt some secret meaning lies, which has to be thoroughly investigated, after which the prisoners shall undergo the severest punishments, to deter the multitude. The Viceroy of Szĕ-ch'wen shall be notified to take still more measures for tracking and punishing people involved in this matter, without showing the slightest clemency or leniency.

And in 1763, in the third month, a decree (*Sh. h.* 264) announced that the Governor of Honan, Yeh Tsun-jen 葉存仁, had ordered an account to be written of all the executions and punishments of heretics which had taken place till then, and that he had distributed this among his Prefects, to promulgate where and

¹ 此等不安本分之人充徒內地已、不能保其不滋生事端、至限滿仍令解回原籍、勢必故智復萌傳播煽誘。所云交親族收管尤屬有名無實。該督不過按照律例辦理、於此案實在情罪尚未允協、應將該犯酌量安置廣西等省烟瘴地方、嚴行管押。庶令知所懲儆。可傳諭該督知之。 *Shing hiun*, 254.

² *Lettres Edifiantes*, XXIII, p. 374.

³ The same work, p. 383.

⁴ To such iniquities the law refers which we translated p. 254-255.

when convenient. The emperor commends him for this zeal, and prophesies that, by thus quietly proceeding on the way to improvement of the people, before very long the desired effect will suddenly be seen.

This decree is followed by one of the 4th of the seventh month (12th Aug.), in which we read of a crusade against heretical sects in the extreme south-east of Kiangsu and the conterminous parts of Chehkiang. Two literary graduates of the lowest degree (生員), Sū Yun 徐筠 and Sū Cheu-ping 徐周柄, respectively from Kin-shan-wei 金山衛 and Nan-hwui 南匯 in the department of Sung-kiang, so Chwang Yiu-kung (see page 288), the Governor of Kiangsu, reported, had presumed to join a heretical sect of Yang Wei-chung 楊維中, and occupied themselves with fasting and reading of Sutras. They were imprisoned, and in their houses were found and seized the Wadjra Sutra 金剛經 and the Amita Sutra 彌陀經, as also illustrated writings for penitential exercises, all of which proved that they belonged to the heretical Maitreya religion, the ramifications of which were being diligently tracked, in co-operation with Hiung Hieh-p'eng 熊學鵬, the Governor of Chehkiang. Both these Governors, thus the Son of Heaven decrees, shall severely prosecute and punish those religionists according to the Law against Heresy, and exterminate their communities; and henceforth such heretical headmen and propagandists as are not condemned to death for sedition or rebellion, shall be exiled to Urumchi, and no more be banished within the empire proper, to prevent their spreading the poison of sectarianism among the Chinese.

Once and for ever branded as brewers of all political and social mischief, we see the sects in that same Kiangsu province persecuted as the authors of an evil which periodically in China throws towns and entire regions into general commotion. I refer to what is officially called "tail-cutting" (割辮 or 剪辮). In such times of panic, it sometimes happens that most respectable gentlemen, even perfect notabilities, suddenly in a most mysterious manner find themselves robbed of their cue, preferably while enjoying some public theatrical performance in a street or market-place, or when visiting a shop, or even in their own houses with securely fastened doors. Most absurd stories are rife at such times of excitement, and are universally believed by the populace, who, with implicit faith in magic arts, deem nothing incredible. But, what is worse, even though there be not the least evidence that any Chinese has lost one single hair, tumults arise, and

the safety of unoffending people is placed in actual peril. Unless it be admitted by general assent that the mischief is done not by men, but by invisible, malignant spectres, the officials interfere, and, to re-assure the populace and suppress the mental typhoon, imprison persons upon whom suspicion falls. Is it surprising that they send out their yamen-runners first of all among the religionists, the declared enemies of the old, orthodox, social order, those evil-brewing outlaws, that corroding canker of humanity? Verily, in most cases their judicial examinations brilliantly confirm their pre-conceived suspicion, for they understand admirably the art of extorting by scourge and torture any confessions, even from the most obdurate temperaments, especially such confessions as they beforehand have assumed to be true.

Such a tail-cutting panic seized the people in 1768 in and about Su-cheu, the famous city of southern Kiangsu. A decree of the 29th of the eighth month (9th Oct.) of that year (*Sh. h.* 255) acquaints us with the fact that, thanks to searches for the tail-cutters made by the authorities, a Mahayāna sect and a Wu-wei sect had been discovered outside the walls, having as many as eleven Sutra-halls. The leaders and principal members of all these parishes had been captured, together with the inmates and servants of those buildings, more than seventy in all. The decree refers to a precedent. Sectarianism, thus it declares, did not thrive anywhere as in the department of Sūen-hwa 宣化, in the far northwest of Chihli, notwithstanding frequent persecutions. On a certain occasion when searches were made there for tail-cutters, communities were discovered; the seditious among the members were punished in accordance with the Law; those who persisted in their heresy were banished to the New Frontier Province, and the apostates were castigated with long sticks and banished within China proper, to teach them not to defy the laws a second time. A like event has now occurred for the first time in the viceroyalty of Kiangnan; so, to nip the evil in the bud, great numbers of persons must often be prosecuted, as a warning for the future. Even as in Sūen-hwa, the seditious elements and tail-cutters shall be searched for with the utmost diligence, thus to get to the very bottom of the matter; the captives shall be examined one by one as soon as possible, and condemned to punishments, without the slightest indulgence or lenity being shown.

On the 17th of the following month (27th Oct.) a decree (*Sh. h.* 255) was issued by the emperor on account of official reports about the discovery of more than ten chapels (庵堂) outside the Northern New Pass (北新關) in the Hang-cheu department, province of

Chehkiang, in which Sutras were kept and images of the prophet Lo worshipped. These buildings were the usual resorts of the crew of the tribute-rice fleet which every year, when unloaded, made a stay at this place; these same people had also built the chapels. The Governor proposes that the heads and chief members of the parishes of that sect shall be punished with the uttermost rigour of the Law, the books and images destroyed, the buildings officially confiscated, and made into lodging-houses for those shipmates. Of course the emperor decrees that the heretics shall be severely punished; but those buildings, which, in spite of former persecutions, had been left undestroyed, were this time to be completely pulled down, as otherwise, after a certain period of time when the persecutions should have slackened, they would again become centres for that religion, hot-houses of riot, and sources of trouble for the authorities. Besides, the housing of these people did not belong to the concerns of the State.

Four days later, an Imperial resolution addressed to the Council of State (*Sh. h.* 255), announces receipt of a report from O Széhoh 阿思哈, Governor of Honan, about the arrest of one Cheu Shi-luh 周世祿, accused of holding meetings in the district of Jū-yang 汝陽, at which Sutras were recited; and also concerning the capture of a suspected individual Sū Kwoh-t'ai 徐國泰 in Hū-cheu 許州, and of one Kwo Yung-ch'ing 過永城 with twenty-six other sectaries in the district of Siang-fu 祥符, a sub-division of the provincial capital Khai-fung, and elsewhere. In the houses of the two last-named persons manuscript books and tickets had been found, breathing a spirit of opposition and untruth (悖謬); nay, Sū Kwoh-t'ai had even gone so far as to write poems (歌詞) which had inflamed and misled many, and enticed more than seventy people to join the sect: now these people were being severely taken to task by the authorities. All these crimes, the emperor declares, are quite unpardonable. The Governor shall be instructed by the Council of State to deal with these men and their accomplices according to the supplementary article against Serious Resistance (大逆例, *supra*, page 254), without the slightest connivance at anything. It has not as yet been proved that the "tail-cutters" come from such seditious people as those sectaries are. They have not, like the latter, headmen or leaders, but there are seditious scoundrels who, desirous of causing mischief, send out others to commit the crime in darkness, in order to keep whole districts and villages in a

perpetual state of fright and agitation, and thus to bring about a revolution (生變). Now this causes their work to be one of the most abominable of crimes, viz. rebellion. In most cases it does not emanate from Buddhist or Taoist heresies, nor from people who have been led astray by the reading of heretical writings, but thus far have kept quiet. But when heretical sects have the courage to make seditious and rebellious writings and sow the seeds of seduction, their ways run parallel with those of the revolutionary tail-cutters. The Governor of Honan therefore must scrupulously examine each of his prisoners on that point, in order to get hold of some thread which may lead to the detection of the chief culprits of the tail-cutting; and as soon as any certainty is obtained in this direction, he must send in a circumstantial report to the Throne. Should he discover nothing of the kind, he shall sentence the prisoners to the heaviest penalties for the crimes for which they were prosecuted.

Yet again we find in the *Shing him* (chap. 255) a few edicts from the ninth and the tenth month 1768, treating of tail-cutting, and setting forth its connection with accursed Sectarism; but they teach us nothing of interest about the sects and their persecutors. It is worth mentioning that this tail-cutting panic is referred to by Father Ventavon in a letter reproduced in the "Lettres Edifiantes" (XXIII, p. 561), who also states that the sects, including the Christians, were persecuted for it. "Le soupçon assez généralement est retombé sur les Bonzes ou faux prêtres des idoles, en sorte qu'il y a eu des ordres de rechercher toutes les différentes sectes tolérées dans l'Empire; et comme il arrive ordinairement dans ces sortes de perquisitions, quelques chrétiens furent surpris et arrêtés dans une des provinces"..... About this persecution of Christians interesting details are given, in contemporaneous letters of missionaries, in Vol. XXIII and XXIV of the "Lettres Edifiantes". Persecution of sects in the same stormy year is mentioned in a decree of the 11th day of the eleventh month (20th Dec.). In the department of Pao-ngan 保安州, in Chihli, a certain Sun Hien-fu 孫顯富 was prosecuted, and with him a goodly number of co-religionists, on the charge of having spread writings for the purpose of reviving sectarianism. The man, according to that decree, had already been put on trial by the Prefect during certain persecutions in 1750 and 1751, of which, however, the *Shing him* tells us nothing; but he had then apostatized, and thus escaped with a so-called light punishment. The decree ordains that all Viceroys and Provincial Governors shall everywhere rigorously apply the Law against Heresy.

We have now to draw the attention of our readers to a very instructive edict, dated the 29th day of the eleventh month (Jan. 3) of the year 1772 (*Sh. h.* 256). Fuh Ming-ngan 富明安, the Viceroy of Hukwang, had reported about the arrest in his dominions of one Hwang Siu-wen 黃秀文 and some others, who all had confessed to be abstaining members of the White Yang sect, the chief of which they worshipped in the person of one Wang Chung-shun 王忠順, living in Shih-fuh-kheu 石佛口, "the Gorge or Pass of the Stone Buddha", situated in Ch'ang-li 昌黎, a district in the far north-east of Chihli. Money for distributing purposes was paid by everybody to one Wang Han-kiu 王漢九, a literary graduate of low rank (監生) in the Khi 杞 district which belongs to the Khai-fung department in Honan; this man used to hand the contributions to Hwang Siu-wen, and it was in his house that the latter had met with Wang Chung-shun, and paid him homage. Forthwith the Viceroy had apprised the Viceroy of Chihli, Cheu Yuen-li 周元理, and the Governor of Honan, Ho Wei 何燁, of these important detections, to enable them to surprise the betrayed criminals. By setting up such heresies, thus the Son of Heaven proclaims, Wang Chung-shun audaciously misleads the people and collects money; verily, this is the way for refractory people to provoke disturbance and trouble. He and Wang Han-kiu must be immediately arrested and thoroughly examined. In the Emperor's name the Council of State shall forthwith instruct the Viceroy of Chihli to send out his detectives to Ch'ang-li, who shall pounce upon the unsuspecting heresiarch; and the Governor of Honan shall be ordered to proceed in the same way with respect to Wang Han-kiu. Besides they shall track and arrest all the co-religionists and clan-members of both men, and after having elicited from them the greatest possible number of names of heretics, they shall punish them as the Law demands; and they shall send a formal report about their proceedings to their Imperial Lord.

This decree well deserves our attention. To estimate the full value of it, we must call to mind what Chinese historians have enabled us to relate on pp. 166 and 169 about another sectarian pontiff of the same Wang tribe, settled in that same Stone Buddha village almost two centuries before, who organized Sectarianism into a power capable of raising open rebellion, thereby accelerating the overthrow of the Ming dynasty, its bloody persecutor. This Wang Shen then, like Wang Chung-shun now, had agents and emissaries travelling among the parishes far

and wide; they levied voluntary contributions or religious taxes; at times they journeyed themselves for propagation purposes and edification of their flock. May we now conclude that this secret pontificate had been hereditary in the Wang family in that village ever since Wang Shen? If so, we have here an analogue of Chang Pao-t'ai's see in Yunnan province (page 278), and an analogue also of that of the Khong-khong or hierarch of the Lung-hwa sect in Fuhkien (p. 201). Elsewhere in these pages we shall have to bring forward other sectarian high-priests, proscribed and, whenever discovered, most cruelly hunted down by an ever-suspicious, pusillanimous government which tolerates no association or organisation whatever, beside its own state-machine and the village-community.

Wang Shen is described by the historian of the Ming dynasty as the headman of the White Lotus or Smelling-Incense sect; and the above decree calls Wang Chung-shun the headman of the White Yang religion. Thus these three sect-names evidently indicate one single religion, or represent three subdivisions of one sect. In vain do we ransack the *Shing hiun* for news about the proceedings of the mandarinat against that hapless village of heretics, thus discovered to be a centre of hierarchy and propagandism. Not until many years later do the edicts tell us something of new persecution undertaken against it, which we shall not neglect to reproduce in due time and place; and finally we shall see how the Imperial Government makes it a horrible scene of bloodshed and extermination.

The Insurrection of Wang Lun, in 1774.

After the emperor had thus sent out his satrap of Chihli against the White Yang hierarch and his community, there are among the edicts of the *Shing hiun*, for about thirty months, none which relate to persecution. This silence, as in so many other instances, will have to be simply ascribed to the fact that this Compendium is merely a selection of edicts, never enabling us to grasp the full extent of the persecutions. Indeed, if we admit that the mandarinat raged not in that lapse of time, it must remain a riddle why, quite suddenly in 1774, the decrees come forward with news of the outbreak of a rebellion of the White Yang and the White Lotus sects, under the headship of a member of the same Wang tribe that the heresiarch belonged to, and on the borders of the same Chihli province in which he had his see. Persecution naturally provokes self-defence. And self-defence

may readily become open revolt where the defensive party is an organized religion with chieftains and leaders, zealots and fanatics all ready for self-sacrifice and martyrdom. We have seen (p. 164) how the persecuted Lotus church once rose in arms against the house of Yuen, and brought it to an untimely downfall. We saw (p. 166 and foll.) the same religion play its armed part in the overthrow of the Ming dynasty. Should then the present Imperial family — which so sharply opposed Sectarianism, persecuting it certainly not less cruelly or with less anti-heretical fanaticism than those two preceding dynasties — never have to keep account with religious rebels?

No nation rises in arms against its rulers without serious reasons. Least of all can unprovoked revolt be expected of so unmartial a people as the Chinese are, timid and peaceful on the whole, merely used to handling plough and tool, never trained in arms, never using a sword or spear, hardly even ever possessing any. So we cannot but conclude that the religious revolt of 1774 must have been preceded by a horrible time of terrorism, panic, agony and exasperation, a time in which the people saw their revered religious leaders and elders, their parents, children, brethren and sisters dragged into the dungeons, beaten, tortured, strangled, beheaded, cut to pieces alive, castrated and banished, their homes pounced upon by police and soldiery, plundered and emptied; a time in which hundreds of harmless religionists saw prices set on their heads and were hunted down as dangerous beasts, everywhere imperiling also their brethren among whom they sought refuge and protection.

Wang Lun 王倫, the man who has for ever affixed his name to the revolt, was an influential sectary in the department of Yen-chou 兗州. There, in the district Sheu-chang 壽張, thus relates Wei Yuen in the last section of the eighth chapter of his *Shing wu ki*, he occupied himself with healing the sick by making them suppress their respiration, which art he had borrowed from the heretical sect of the Pure Water (清水邪教). He also gave lessons in boxing. His followers daily increased in Shantung, and the Prefect of Sheu-chang, Shen Ts'i-i 沈齊義, had him arrested. But then, on the 28th day of the eighth month (3rd Oct.), the rebels stormed the city, and also successively took possession of the more northern district-cities of T'ang-yih 堂邑 and Yang-kuh 陽穀; and after that they marched up against the chief city of the Tung-ch'ang 東昌 department on the Great Imperial Canal, and against Lin-ts'ing 臨清, a place even more

important, on the confluence of the Wei 衛 and the Great Canal, which by its situation commanded the rice-transport from the south to Peking. This was a direct attack upon the most vital point of the dynasty; the victualling of the Imperial family, the Court, the central Government, the troops and the population in the Metropolis being thus intercepted.

The emperor, who was at Jehol at that time, deemed it necessary to send the Grand Secretary (大學士) or High Chancellor Shu Hoh-teh 舒赫德 to the scene of the insurrection as Military Commander-in-Chief and Plenipotentiary. In co-operation with the Imperial son-in-law Lah-wang-tao-'rh-tsi 拉旺多爾濟 and the President of the Censorate O Szë-hoh (see p. 293), and aided by select Manchu archers from Solon and Kirin, he was "to pacify those districts by sweeping the evil clean away to the last remains" (清除餘孽以靖地方), in other words, to exterminate the rebels to the last¹. The Viceroy of Chihli, Cheu Yuen-li, already known to us, received instructions to defend his departments of Kwang-p'ing 廣平 and Ta-ming 大名, bordering on the revolting region, while Yao Lih-teh 姚立德, Director General of the Hwangho, was charged with the defence of Tung-ch'ang.

The badly organized rebel troops were not proof against such force. In a decree of the 10th day of the ninth month (Oct. 14), and in another, dated ten days later (*Sh. h.* 49), we read already of the slaughter of rebels by Sū Tsih 徐績, Governor of Shantung, by Yao Lih-teh, by Wei Yih 惟一, Brigade General of the troops at Yen-cheu, and by volunteers in the Kwan-t'ao 館陶 district. The last-mentioned decree empowered the Governor of Shantung to bestow liberal rewards on all braves for the extermination and capture of rebels. The first victory of any importance was gained by Wei Yih, with three hundred men; T'ang-yih fell into his hands, and with eight hundred troops he defeated the rebel army a second time, and released Sū Tsih, besieged in Lin-ts'ing, that is to say, in the New City (新城), while the Old one (舊城) was in the power of the rebels. Wei Yuen says this was a large place with earthen walls no less than thirty or forty li in circumference, embracing many myriads of dwellings. From this enormous stronghold the insurgents attacked the New City, and found that the cannon on the walls did them no harm at all. But the Imperialists cleverly remedied this evil by exorcising

¹ See also in the *Shing hiun*. chap. 49, a decree of the 10th of the ninth month (Oct. 14).

the guns with the blood of a naked woman and a virgin, and with a fowl and a dog (裸婦女血雞犬厭之).

On the 14th of that month, Wei Yih, together with Koh T'u-kheng 格圖肯, Military Commander in the city of Teh-cheu 德州, north of Lin-ts'ing, was seen approaching the besieged town with a thousand men. This tempted a part of the garrison to a rash sally, but they were worsted by the besiegers and fled to Tung-ch'ang, where by Imperial command they were all beheaded. Attacked both on the Teh-cheu and the Tung-ch'ang side, harassed on the other by the Chihli forces, and assailed in the west from Kwan-t'ao, the insurgents had a hot time of it. A disastrous defeat was inflicted upon them on the western banks of the canal by the General of Chihli, Wan Ch'ao-hing 萬朝興, on which occasion their floating bridge was burned. On the 23rd, Shu Hoh-teh's own army appeared on the scene, defeated the rebels under the walls of the Old City, and with great slaughter drove them within the walls. Then the east-gate was stormed by Shu Hoh-teh, and the city given over to fire and sword. Yin Tsi-t'u 音濟圖, an officer of the Imperial Body-guard who had fought with much bloody success at the northern gate, now went to find Wang Lun. He pulled down the walls of a large house into which the latter had retired, and with his own hand seized him. But a dozen rebels rushed out, released their headman, mounted with him to the top storey, set fire to the building, and all perished in the flames. That gallant officer then continued his heroic feats of that day by slaying in the streets some dozens of female rebels. The younger brother of Wang Lun, Wang P'oh 王樸 by name, with the insurgent commanders Fan Wei 樊偉, Meng Ts'an 孟燦, Wang King-lung 王經隆 and others, were caught alive and sent in cages to Peking. More than a thousand of their relations and clansfolk were put to death. About 7,000 families, altogether numbering about 40,000 persons, who had fled for their lives, now returned. In one month the rebellion was quenched, and the empty grain fleet could safely sail south, to fetch new food-supplies for Peking and the Court.

So far Wei Yuen's account of the insurrection. The Old City had been the scene of most tremendous slaughter and havoc. An Imperial decree of the 12th day of the tenth month (Nov. 15) declared (see *Shing hiun* 82) that, according to Shuh Hoh-teh's own report, the dead bodies lay in piles everywhere, and blocked up the streets. A statesman suggested to the Throne that, unless they were removed, infectious diseases might break out amongst the 4000 families re-settled in the city. So the emperor

ordered that the Commanders-in-chief should have two pits dug near the riverbank, one for the male and one for the female corpses; after these had been thrown therein and covered up with the debris of the burned houses, the remaining ruins and rubbish should be piled up over them, so as to form grave-mounds not high and conspicuous like whales, but just large enough to warn and intimidate the people. Foreigners who visit Lin-ts'ing, go and behold with your own eyes these hideous trophies, eloquent witnesses of Chinese religious liberty, raised on human bones! They lie in the very region where Confucius lived and laboured, not very far from the place where his grave is found, and his descendants live in the enjoyment of special protection and favour on the part of a State worshipping him as the founder and patron divinity of its political and ethical wisdom.

The demon of war sent out by the emperor, had done his work unhampered; but the imperial bloodthirstiness was not yet satiated. Many indeed have been slain, thus he exclaims triumphantly in a decree of the 4th of the tenth month (Nov. 7), "but the arch rebel has managed to escape from being carved alive into one inch pieces; in faith, it makes Me grind My teeth. "But the sons of that culprit Wang Lun are numerous; they must of course be quickly sought and arrested at once, in "order to undergo for him this severest of all punishments"¹. Shu Hoh-teh has reported to Us that Wang King-lung and other insurgent chiefs have been forwarded to Peking in cages; their arrival may be expected any day, and they may then be carefully examined by Ourselves. That Plenipotentiary has already 1372 culprits in his power. All those amongst them who held official appointments among the insurgents, or actually fought on the rebel side, shall without mercy be put to death. Those who rendered services to the rebels, or who were present at the fights without taking part therein, shall be exiled for ever to Ili, Kirin, Heh-lung-kiang and other regions, there to be given to the troops for slaves, or else they shall be banished to the inland regions where infectious diseases prevail. But the ignorant who were forced to side with the insurgents and had no chance of deserting their ranks, or young men carried off by the rebels, may, if thought advisable, be set free, or if their case is of a more serious nature, they shall undergo a chastisement by way of correction. The

¹ 賊首轉得倖逃寸磔、實堪切齒。該犯王倫之子共有幾人、自應即速查拏、代其重罪。 *Shing hiun*, 256.

Governor of Shantung likewise reports that on all sides he has captured very many people. With regard to the chief rebels among these, he shall act in the same manner as prescribed above; he shall take good measures, lest any such delinquents slip through his nets. But the sectaries of both sexes who at T'ang-yih welcomed the rebels on their knees, "positively belong to the criminals of the abominable kind" (固屬可惡). Those who took the lead on that occasion shall be put to death for a warning example; the remainder against whom sufficient proof of guilt can be found, shall be exiled, without it being necessary to pursue thorough investigation. For a long time the Lotus sect has been propagated in Shantung. Wang P'oh has confessed that Wang Lun's teacher, Chang Ki-ch'ing 張既成 from Yang-kuh, is dead; let his body be exhumed from its grave, and his wife and brothers who are travelling about be seized and subjected to a severe examination; and let the same be done to his teacher Yuen Kung-p'u 袁公溥 from Tung-o 東阿. All the branches of that heretical religion shall be tracked and searched; they who for some long time have occupied themselves with heresies shall more particularly be hunted up, "lest any remnant of the evil be left in existence" (勿使復留餘孽). At the same time, however, it should be borne in mind, that "although the heretical religions must most "decidedly be searched out and put a stop to, they who have "entered such a religion are not necessarily altogether rebels" ¹. Hence they who have done so in consequence of seduction, if they change their mind and apostatize, need not positively be persecuted more rigorously than the general members of the sect-branches. "But if you are unable to strive for the extermination, "root and branch, of the remainder of the rebels and the heretical "religions, then neither can you fully realize the sentence I have "inscribed with My own hand in the posterior hall (of the temple "of Confucius): 'If Chung-ni (Confucius) were here, he would not "do it more thoroughly than Myself'. Shu Hoh-teh, fathom the "meaning of these words, and realize My intentions in the best "way you can. Be not lax or lenient, be not negligent!" ².

Eloquent words indeed, by which this supreme Confucian per-

¹ 但邪教固當查禁、而入教者未必盡皆謀叛。

² 餘賊邪教二事不可不期盡絕根株、然亦不能太盡朕後殿自書有仲尼不爲已甚之句。舒赫德深知之、惟當善體朕心。毋縱、毋濫。

secutor portrays himself! His delight in the sacred slaughter of heretics, now so gloriously accomplished, was equalled by his zeal in rewarding those who had been instrumental in the execution of his will. By a decree of the 5th day of the eleventh month (7th Dec.), Shu Hoh-teh, the eminent victor, was promoted to the high dignity of 御前大臣, "Minister who stands before the Emperor" or Grand-Chamberlain, and privileged to wear a double-eyed Peacock Feather. He also was invested with the eighth grade of nobility (雲騎尉), transferable to his son (*Sh. h.* 49). Even before this glorious carnage, he was a favorite of his august master, for by a decree of the 2nd day of the fourth month of that same year (*Sh. h.* 171) the latter presented him and two other grandees with a copy of the famous giant work *Ku kin fu shu tsih ch'ing*, to become an heirloom in their families. Nor did the emperor forget the Prefects of the rebellious districts. The insurgent chiefs, conveyed to Peking, had confessed that the Prefects of Sheu-chang and T'ang-yih, Shen Ts'i-i (see p. 297) and Ch'en Mei 陳枚, when captured and garrotted by the rebels and prevailed upon to make common cause with them, scolded them so well that they had to pay for it with their lives. The emperor therefore decreed on the 13th of the tenth month (Nov. 16) that these faithful servants of the dynasty, together with the Sub-director of Studies (訓導) in T'ang-yih, who also for soundly scolding the rebels suffered the same fate, should be proposed by the Board of Civil Office for Imperial distinctions (*Sh. h.* 244). A decree issued ten days later (*ibid*) ordains the same with regard to yet other officers murdered in the surprised cities for a similar display of scolding heroism.

His Majesty had however, also to punish. Our readers know the fate which befell the warriors who sallied forth from Old Lin-tsing, and could not again retire within its walls. Apart from this, Shu Hoh-teh felt compelled to lodge a complaint for cowardice against Manchus of the garrison at Teh-cheu, who had turned tail to the enemy. This, the emperor declares in a decree (*Sh. h.* 203) of the 10th of the tenth month (13th Nov.), is an unheard-of crime which stains the moral character of the Manchus in general; it is a matter absolutely contrary to the Manchu nature, and therefore highly deplorable. Shu Hoh-teh shall quickly put to death the principal deserters, in order that others may see what fate awaits them, should they behave in the same way. Those who did not run away quite so fast, shall have their names expunged from the registers of the Bannermen and be banished to Ili, there to

be given as slaves to the Oelöt; finally, the wives and children of all the deserters shall also be taken off the registers and expelled from Teh-cheu; they can then go where they like. One trembles to think what must have been the fate of those poor women and children, cast out helpless amongst a populace which intensely hates the Manchus as the instruments for oppression in the hands of the ruler. Thus even outside the pale of heretical life the murderous demon of fanaticism found human victims. But what are we to think ourselves of those Manchu Bannermen wavering when ordered to attack the rebels? Had long garrison-life really effeminated them? Or were they also tainted with heresy?

The insurrection, in the suppression of which the Viceroy of Chihli, Cheu Yuen-li, took so active a part, moved this grandee to give his wise opinion to the emperor about the political line of conduct of the dynasty with respect to heresy. Wang Lun's rebellion, he argued, as stated in a decree of the 26th day of the tenth month or the 29th Nov. (*S. l. h.* 256) — emanated from heretical sectarianism. The White Lotus sect, that of the White Yang, that of the Pure Water, and any other, begin with holding meetings for Sutra-readings. Then they collect contributions and spread their heresies abroad, while they practice boxing and fencing; and this leads to fomentation of rebellion. Now if these heretical sects are to be destroyed to the root, the supervision of the wards must first of all everywhere become much more strict than it is, and the old ordinances regarding this part of the administration must be maintained with increased severity. Indeed, the emperor complains, hitherto these ordinances have been treated by the Prefects as a dead letter. Instructions shall therefore be sent to the Viceroys and Provincial Governors to take measures against the sects as proposed by their colleague of Chihli. — Such is the political sagacity of intolerance, the logic of fanaticism! That it is persecution which provokes rebellion, the persecutor does not see; — in order to put down the spirit of rebellion, he reasons, we must redouble the severity of the persecution!

While that short, but bloody religious war was raging, a fierce persecution of heresy was set on foot in Honan. Only a very few details are given us about it, in a decree of the 21st of the ninth month or the 25th Oct. (*S. l. h.* 256). In Peking, an engraver had been detained, called Ho T'ing-pang 賀廷榜, from the district of Siang-fu 祥符, belonging to Khai-fung, the capital of Honan. He was one of twelve chiefs of an association purporting to collect moneys for repairing a temple of the Yellow Dragon (黃龍廟) in Siang-fu, but which in reality was a "meritorious

work society" (成功會), teaching that after death its members would be sent back by Yama, the god of the infernal regions, to the earth, to convert mankind to righteousness. This community, the prisoner explained, counted already 123 male members, and had also a section of female members, 487 strong. A similar society had been founded in Ch'en-liu 陳留, a district near the capital of Honan¹, by the Buddhist priest Chung-i 忠義, spiritual father of Yuen-chi 原志, a priest of the Yellow Dragon temple.

The necessity for a strict inquiry into this matter is the more imperative — the emperor declares — because very possibly this society makes common cause with the White Lotus sect, now in rebellion in Shantung. Ho Wei, the Governor of Honan, who is now with his troops at the frontiers, shall not yet proceed to persecute, but remember that "he who beats the bush frightens the serpents" (打草驚蛇). For the present the Lieutenant Governor of his province, Yung Chu 榮柱, shall confine himself to making very secret investigations, without fanning slumbering discontent into open rebellion. Then later on, when the right moment has come, they shall strike. But should these sectaries, knowing that in Shantung the sects are in rebellion, prepare to rise also — then let vigorous measures at once be taken to prevent this.

We learn nothing further regarding this heresy-hunt. But we may conclude that it was a bloody and cruel one, from the fact that the exasperation of the emperor and his faithful satraps must have reached a climax on having experienced that the society of the White Lotus, of the Pure Water, of the White Yang, and others of the kind had proved themselves capable of surprising his cities, killing his Prefects, resisting his armies for a time, and cutting off the food supply of the Metropolis. All these bold feats were far from excluding the chance that, some time or other, the heretics might even storm the Metropolis and his Palace. A retrospect of past events necessarily enhanced the Imperial fears. For hardly two hundred years had passed since this same Shantung, even the same portion of it which is intersected by the Imperial Canal, rose in open rebellion under the lead of the same Lotus sect against the heresy-hunting house of Ming. Had not their leader proclaimed himself emperor? Had he not conquered numerous cities? And had not that rebellion to be quenched in streams of blood, its suppression requiring many dozen years of devastating warfare?

¹ See the sketch-map on page 298.

Therefore, no lenity towards the sects, no religious tolerance, but increase of persecutions, increase of cruelty! That this perverse polity must be like oil thrown into a smouldering fire; that it must incite the people, of which even the female part had stood in arms in Lin-tsing, to more exasperation, greater despair and stronger resistance, these plain facts remained beyond the comprehension of the Confucian brain. Fanaticism never is clear-sighted, but that of Confucianism appears to be totally blind. Kao Tsung would live long enough to see yet more consequences of his disastrous polity. Once more under his reign a revolt would be attempted in that same portion of his realm. He would have to take the field against the persecuted Mohammedans in far Kansuh. He would have to mobilize his armies to quench rebellion in distant Formosa. Nay, he would live to see his successor for nearly eight successive years wage a destructive religious war in no less than five provinces in the west, and exterminate the people there by fire and the sword. The first period of Kao Tsung's reign was one of persecution. The second necessarily became one of insurrection and warfare.



CHAPTER XI.

THE SECOND PART OF THE REIGN OF KAO-TSUNG.
1775—1795.

In 1775, a decree of the 22d of the second month (23rd March) tells us of the Viceroy of Chihli having arrested a member of a ramification of the Red Yang sect, existing at Mukden, the capital of Manchuria, to which also belonged some people in the district of Wu-ts'ing 武清, situated between Peking and T'ien-tsin. The emperor decrees that he is most sorry and indignant to hear how even in the heart of the country of his ancestry heresies prevail. The Military Governor bearing sway there shall institute a strict investigation, to be followed by prosecution, and he shall inflict punishments without mercy. (*Sh. h.* 257)

Thereupon, on the 12th of the fourth month (May 10th), a decree appears concerning the arrest of a Manchu Bannerman, who, together with several others, had founded a religion of societies of the Original Condition of Chaos and the Red Yang (混元紅陽會邪教) in the Manchurian district of Hai-ch'ing 海城; and also bearing upon the discovery of a society of the One Incense-stick and the Sceptre (一炷香如意會) in the districts of Ch'ing-teh 承德 and Kin 錦, in the same part of Manchuria, and of a Christian community. The captives had already been delivered up for trial to the Board of Punishments at Mukden. The emperor attaches his high sanction to these laudable achievements, in the first place because heresies are so injurious to the "Tao of mankind" (世道), and also because in the holy land of his ancestors, where manners and customs were originally so pure, heresies may not be tolerated on any account. And in a Bannerman in particular it is so condemnable to found heretical sects! The guilty captive therefore shall be punished with the utmost severity, more severely than a non-Bannerman would be for a similar crime. (*Sh. h.* 257)

The sect of the Origin or Primaeval Condition of Chaos we have as yet found mentioned only in the *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien* (supra,

p. 153). Now in this decree we hear of its members being aggregated with those of the Red Yang sect into one community. This means, we expect, that both communities are not actually different religions, and thus we have a new proof for our theory that sects are few in China, but their names are many.

In 1777, on the 21st of the eleventh month (Dec. 21), a decree to the Council of State (*S/h. l.* 257) attaches the Imperial approval to the treatment of seven arrested members of a religious society in the department Ho 河州, near Lan-chou, the capital of Kansuh¹. The emperor ordains that these people shall be executed speedily, as otherwise their crew may possibly storm the prisons. Shih Chung-sin 石忠信, one of the four 教主 or religious chiefs, as also Hoh T'ien-siang 郝天祥, their 軍師 or military commander, shall immediately be publicly cut in pieces; the five others, of the Chang 張 tribe, who were members, shall be beheaded without reprieve, and the seven heads shall be exhibited on stakes. And also they who still may fall into the hands of the Viceroy, shall without delay be brought to judgment, and immediately cut in pieces if they were invested with any office or dignity in the sect, or defended themselves at their arrest, or wounded the lictor on that occasion. If they were merely members, the Viceroy shall have them beheaded. Those who were forced by the rebels to join them, or who deserted them and reported themselves before the mandarins, may perhaps be exempted from the penalty of death, but shall then be banished to malarious districts in Kweichou or Yunnan. The Viceroy shall not show the slightest mercy (不可稍存姑息).

What was this poor sect guilty of? We learn it from a decree issued by the emperor two days before. According to a report of the Viceroy Leh 'rh-kin 勒爾謹, a person named Hwang Kwoh 黃國 received at his house people who read sacred books and hung out a streamer, "and they compelled the people living thereabout to supply them with victuals in return" (勒令居民供應糧食). At their arrest they had presumed to offer resistance, and in the scuffle wounded a policeman. Thereupon the Viceroy and the Provincial Chief Judge had personally gone thither to make arrests, — the proper way, his Imperial Majesty declares, of treating such affairs. The people of the interior most audaciously found sects, form congregations, appoint leaders, and hang out

¹ Comp. the sketch-map on page 313.

streamers; and when they have incorporated a whole village into their sect, they use pieces of white cloth as marks of distinction; therefore the present case is evidently of the most odious kind, of the same nature as that of Wang Lun, the Shantung rebel. Leaders and followers must be made to feel the uttermost rigour of the Law, as a warning to others. But — and this passage is worth our notice — “in Shensi and Kansuh the Moslems are stronger in number than anywhere else, and are easily roused to mutiny; therefore, should the persons involved in this matter be Moslems, it is to be feared that they will abuse their power and bravery. If they venture to offer resistance, attacks on them and arrests shall not take place without an armed force”¹. And when the culprits have been arrested to the very last, if necessary with the help of troops of the Provincial General-in-Chief Fah Ling-o 法靈阿, then the Viceroy shall forthwith proceed to condemn the ringleaders in the assembling, inciting and misleading of the people, to be cut in pieces or beheaded, without reprieve.

Evidently something of considerable moment had happened: a sect had the abominable courage to join in self-defence against a pack of yamen-rabble, let loose among them. But order was soon restored by the armed force of the oppressor, which reduced the rebels to obedience and submission; many were seized and sent to prison, to be banished or executed. Were they Mohammedans? The fact that they raised a tax (tzakāt?), their brave defiance of the persecutor, but above all the emperor's conjecture that they might be followers of the prophet, almost make us believe they were. If they were, the official world in Kansuh evidently had forgotten the decree issued by Shi Tsung in 1729 (see p. 269), and occasionally attacked a religion which, wherever established in the world, has never lacked courage to set face against its foes.

Unfortunately the *Shing hiun* gives no more decrees about this matter. But we learn some particulars from an anonymous letter of a missionary in Peking, dated 31th July 1778², which contains a paraphrase of a report of this same Viceroy to the emperor. Over two thousand brethren had joined in battle against the provincial armed force; the conflict lasted from 3 to 8 o'clock on the 13th day of the eleventh month; 1500 were killed, and 552 caught alive. Their commander was among the slain, as

¹ 但陝甘兩省回民最多而易滋事、此案若係回民、或恐恃其勇悍、敢於抗拒、不可不用官兵勦捕。

² “Lettres Edifiantes”, XXIV, p. 469.

also two women, who fought at his side, the one with a white, the other with a black banner. They were butchered nearly to the last man, a feat which in China could hardly be expected from any but Moslems, sure to gain Paradise if they fall in Allah's cause. The same missionary adds in his letter some particulars about Christians persecuted in Pa-cheu 霸州, south of Peking and west of T'ien-tsin, as a direct consequence of these events in Kansuh. And he also relates, that the year before, the soldiery of Leh'rh-kin had surprised near Si-ngan, his residence, twenty-eight members of a Christian community, and proposed to the emperor to exile the two leaders.

It is much to be regretted that we have no means of making sure whether the victims of this provoked revolt were Islamites. Otherwise we might well see in this, one of the causes of the fierce religious war which three years later was to break out in that same portion of the empire against the Government, and of which we will speak presently, after first mentioning a violent persecution in Szě-ch'wen, reported in a decree of the 5th of the second month (22d March) of the year 1779.

This decree (*Sh. h.* 257) proclaimed the Imperial sanction of measures taken in that province, where in the districts of Yung 榮 and Fu-shun 富順 a certain Pih Teng-ch'en 畢登臣 had been arrested on the charge of spreading heresies, the fabricating non-official seals, and enticing people into his fraternity. The Viceroy had gone there in person, ordered several of the leaders and members to be arrested, and examined them himself. He shall — thus prescribes the Son of Heaven — most rigorously prosecute and condemn all those people; not one shall be allowed to slip through his net. They shall be sentenced by large numbers at a time, to warn the people more effectively, and the executions shall take place without reprieve.

Just a fortnight later, a second decree appeared, bearing upon the same matter (*Sh. h.* 257). This informs us that the Viceroy had put to death six persons, and had under trial 110 members of the sect. Are there among this number of criminals none who also deserve to be executed? the crowned heretic-hunter asks, thirsting for more blood. They must be tried with the utmost severity; still more people shall be arrested; since the Viceroy's former missive, ten days have elapsed without any further communications on this head having been received from him — what neglect of duty! Let this grandee set out in person to make arrests; etc., etc. The heretic ringleader Hiung Tszě-lung 熊子龍 must on no account slip through the net; he shall be hunted

with armed force, lest he escape the penalty of death. And Chu T'ien-shun 朱天順 or Chu T'ien-lung 朱天龍 has been pointed out by the captives to be now living in Yunnan, and when twelve years old, to have been a helper of the patriarch Chang (張祖). Surely this patriarch must be Chang Pao-t'ai (see p. 278). Accordingly, although the body of this arch-heretic has been chopped to pieces by the authorities, and his sect has been subjected to frequent prosecutions, there are still enough of his villains left to incite and mislead the people in his name! This is the most abominable of all abominable deeds (最爲可惡). Chu T'ien-lung shall be searched for, and informations and confessions shall be extorted from him, which may lead to the extermination of his sect.

The Wahhabee Movement in Kansuh.

Here we enter upon an important phase of China's political history. Thus far we have seen persecuted heresy occasionally revolt against the Government, but overpowered almost at once by an overwhelming military force, smothering its opposition in blood. Now for the first time we shall see the persecutor dash against an armed resistance on a much larger scale, and thus involved in a struggle fully deserving the name of religious war.

The Mohammedans in Kansuh were already a powerful element when the dynasty conquered the empire. We have seen (p. 269) that it took eighteen months of warfare to reduce them to submission. Now they became the first to teach the dynasty that the bow of persecution could easily be bent too much and break; that active intolerance could lead to consequences endangering the State itself, the dynasty and its throne. We have already had occasion to cast a cursory glance at the polity adopted by the Government with regard to this interesting exotic religion (p. 269). It showed us that this polity amounted to something like a placid passiveness and non-interference, based on fear. But now we shall see the Government under the force of circumstances abandon this line, and resort to persecutions crude and fierce, specially turned against propagandists and leaders.

"The Salar¹ Moslems with black turbans", thus says Wei Yuen, "dwelled in Si-ning (a department east of Kukuror), on

1 撒拉爾, Sah-lah-'rh. This Persian word (سالار) signifies leader or chieftain, and is applied to persons belonging to the holy tribe of Mohammed; it is also an ordinary title for Mohammedan princes in India. Evidently the Kansuh Moslems were wont to denote each other by that name. May we conclude from this that they were Abbasides?

"the borders of the foreign countries. These foreign Moslems were "cruel and fearless, and fond of fighting. Of old, the Islamic book "of Mik-koh (Mekkah), which they honour, was read by them "all in a low voice. Then a Mohammedan from the Siün-hwa "district (in Si-ning), Ma Ming-sin by name, returned home from "beyond the passes. He had observed that in the western regions "the book of Islam was recited by every one aloud, and he "himself pretended to have received the traditions in their genuine "form. He transmitted the same to disciples, who called them-selves the New Religion, and were hostile to the old one.

"In the 46th year of the Khien lung period (1781), in the "third month, his disciple Su Szě-shih-san (lit. Su Forty-three) "assembled his crew, and killed over a hundred people of the "Old Religion. The Prefect of the department of Lan-cheu, Yang "Shi-ki, and the Colonel of that of Ho, Sin Chu by name, set out "at the head of their troops to capture them, but they met their "death. Then the Viceroy Leh 'rh-kin (p. 308) with five hundred of the "provincial forces occupied Tih-tao-cheu, mustered soldiers from "every garrison, destroyed the rebels, captured the religious chief "Ma Ming-sin, and imprisoned him in the capital of the province "(Lan-cheu). But now more than two thousand rebels took the "city of Ho-cheu, and having crossed the T'ao river under cover of "night, attacked Lan-cheu by the roads and paths leading thither¹.

"This city contained no more than eight hundred men of the "provincial forces. Nevertheless they encountered the enemy, but "were worsted. The insurgents cut off the floating bridge across "the Hwangho, in order to keep off the relief forces; then they "besieged the city, and demanded in very high terms that Ma "Ming-sin should be delivered up to them. Wang T'ing-tsan, the "Lieutenant-Governor of the province, told this man to mount "the city-wall and admonish the insurgents, and then he had him

1 初撒拉爾黑帽回者居西寧番地俗介。番回驚悍好鬥。所奉墨克回經舊皆默誦。有循化廳回馬明心者歸自關外。見西域回經皆朗誦、自謂得真傳。遂授徒、號新教、與老教相仇。

乾隆四十六年三月其徒蘇四十三聚黨殺老教百餘。蘭州知府楊士機及河州協副將新柱以兵往捕、遇害。總督勒爾謹以標兵五百馳扼狄道州、調各鎮兵剿之、捕教首馬明心、下省城獄。而賊二千餘陷河州城、宵濟洮河、由間道徑犯蘭州。

"killed at once, in order to keep down sedition within the walls.

"Then Leh 'rh-kin detached troops to retake Ho-cheu, and "captured more than three hundred relations of the rebels. And "having left in Siün-hwa a force to cut off the communications "with Tih-tao, he quickly marched back upon Lan-cheu"¹.

Thus the demon of carnage and devastation, unchained by Islamic fanaticism itself, raged with all his terrors. The occurrences sufficiently show that the adepts of the New Religion were numerous, overbearing, and well organized, and that the apostle who brought it from the west, evidently a Mekkah pilgrim, had exercised a vast influence over them. But what was this New Religion? Apparently we have here to do with the renovation-movement of Abd-el-Wahhāb, the new prophet who had arisen in the very cradle of Islamism to preach a return of Allah's church to its original purity and to the old orthodoxy of the doctrine of Mohammed. It was about 1730 that this reformer commenced his crusade against all modernism, and he died in 1787. Hence it is far from improbable that now, in 1781, this great movement, which, especially through Mekkah pilgrims, shook the whole Mohammedan world, had advanced as far as Kansuh, and found its fanatical apostles and followers there. By the mouth of Ma Ming-sin, their principal, they preached, as the Chinese historian clearly states, "the traditions (sunnah?) in their genuine form", and they even undertook a kind of holy war to enforce these upon their less puritanical co-religionists, thus compelling them to seek safety with the pagan satrap of their province, his generals and officers.

Troops turned up from all sides, even from Turfan and other parts of the New Frontier Province, and were strongly supported by the adherents of the Old Creed. The Wahhabees were defeated over and over again. On the 22nd of the sixth month (11th Aug.) a decree was issued (*Sh. h.* 50), proclaiming that the Imperial armies under Hai Lan-ch'ah 海蘭察 and Ming Liang 明亮 had just then gained a decisive victory over the insurgents entrenched in the Hwa-lin 華林 and Lung-mi 龍尾 mountains;

¹ 時蘭州止督標兵八百。迎擊失利。賊斷黃河浮橋以拒援師、繞城譟索馬明心甚急。布政使王廷贊使登城諭賊、旋誅之以靖內變。

勒爾謹遣兵復河州、并捕賊家屬三百餘。于循化廳留兵斷狄道、馳回蘭州。 *Shing wu ki*, chap. 7, IV.

large numbers of them had been slain or captured, and the poor remainder, a few hundred, had retired into a convent or mosque (寺) on Mount Hwa-lin. And on the 12th of the next month (30th Aug.) a decree announces that this convent had been stormed, and that all, to the last man, had been killed or made prisoners; further, that Ma Ming-sin's relations, pupils and followers, with several others captured in the district of Fuh-kiang 伏羌 for collecting moneys (for the jihād?), had been placed by O Kwei 阿桂, the Imperial Plenipotentiary, in the hands of Fuh Ning 福寧, the provincial Chief Judge, to be tried and sentenced. Right so! exclaims the exultant Emperor. Of these rebels not a trace, however slight, must remain. All insurgents yet at liberty shall be hunted out with might and main, and their wives, daughters and babies now incarcerated in the provincial capital, in Ho, Siün-hwa and other places, shall be thoroughly examined for the better realization of this object; and finally the transports to the pestilential places of banishment shall start with all possible speed.

Knowing something of the extermination-methods applied by the government of China in cases of rebellion and opposition or anything they consider identical therewith, we can fairly imagine what broad streams of heretic blood must have been shed in those far regions by the Imperial generals, and also by the new Viceroy Li Shi-yao 李侍堯, Leh'rh-kin's successor, egged on to his work by his Imperial Lord. While these grandees were giving the best of their abilities and energy to the sanguinary work, in order the firmer to fix the Throne by the maintenance of the pure and ancient, only true and wise Confucian doctrine and polity, H. M. comes out with two edicts, determining the line of conduct to be pursued by these and other provincial authorities with regard to the Moslems. Both documents are based on this principle: persecute their religion as long as you can do it without bad consequences for the Government, especially when they live in discord or are at strife on religious questions; and for the rest, weaken them by carrying off their chiefs and leaders; but whatever you do, do it with circumspection. Thus far writers on the subject of the Mohammedan insurrections never broached the question whether they were caused or prompted by the Chinese polity of persecution. These two edicts solve all doubt on this head. They show that the line of conduct pursued by the State against Islam, is in the main the same as the one always followed against sects in general, and for this reason they are well worth translating here in full.

With reference to a missive of O Kwei concerning the New Religion in Kansuh, the emperor on the 7th of the fifth month (May 30th) gave the following decree to the Council of State: — “Rebellious Mohammedans of that class enflame and mislead the ignorant in that country, and talk much nonsense about (future) felicity and misery; but worse than anything is it that they appoint religious leaders (掌教) and religious head-leaders (總掌教), by means of whom they cause the ignorant Moslems to be befooled and misled to such an extent that they enter their religion, follow their directions, and obey their orders. That at present Su Szě-shih-san, that rebellious Mohammedan, with his crew, constituting the remains of their band, have found it in their hearts to offer with their people resistance to the Government armies, is in every respect a consequence of the fact that, at the time, that tumor was nurtured, and those evils were allowed to have their free course. Li Shi-yao in prosecuting the Salars shall put matters right for the future, and have the religious head-leaders removed from among them without causing any agitation, alarm or noise. And in every other province, whether it contains such Mohammedan sects or not, the leaders shall all likewise be removed at once in a safe manner¹.

“As to the charges which the contending sects of Han Ha-tsi (haji Han?) and Ho-mo-luh-hu have brought against each other — they formed a judicial matter not to be compared with others of ordinary import. Of course, true reports about it have to be sent to Us, and the case shall be tried as severely as the Law (against Heresy) allows, as a warning and deterring example for others. The Viceroy and the Governor at the time have simply written a report to the Board about the final issue of the case, and the Board of Punishment then, likewise hastily, sent a reply based on that report; these documents probably were placed among other reports to the Throne, but

¹ 此等逆回在該處煽惑愚人、妄言禍福、甚至設立掌教及總掌教之名、以致無知回民被其愚惑入教、指揮聽令。現在逆回蘇四十三等、即其餘黨、竟敢率衆抗拒官兵、總由當日養癰貽患而致。著李侍堯於辦理撒拉爾善後事、宜內將總掌教名目不動聲色令其裁去。並各省有無似此等回教名目者、亦各一體妥爲裁革。

"I virtually got no cognizance of them. All this was wrong. "In future, whenever in any province the Viceroy or Governor "happens to have a similar case of heretical religions quar-
 "relling and fighting, or holding meetings and reciting sacred
 "writings, those authorities shall forthwith personally take the
 "culprits in hand, examine them sharply, and sentence them
 "with the greatest severity which the laws allow, and thereupon
 "they shall send a true and detailed report to Us; in this manner
 "they wash away those sects, root and stem. They shall no more
 "bring such matters to a close hurriedly, nor be quick in reporting
 "them to the Board as finished, and thus cause the sects to spread
 "again and create new troubles. And as to the chiefs of the Board of
 "Punishments, whenever they receive report of such a case having
 "been brought to a close in a province, they too shall forth-
 "with send Us a special true report about that case, and confirm
 "the sentences with observance of the greatest severity the laws
 "allow; but they shall not answer that the matter may herewith
 "be considered as finished. And the culprits involved in a case of
 "such heresy, who must be exiled, shall not be sent to Fung-
 "t'ien (Mukden), Kirin, or the New Frontier Province, lest they
 "enflame and mislead others again by means of their heretical
 "religion, and the people there be befooled and seduced by them.
 "This order shall be transmitted by you to Li Shi-yao and to
 "the Viceroy or Governor of every province, and they shall execute
 "it obediently" ¹.

The other decree, given to the Council of State on the 8th of the following intercalary month (30th June), evidently is

¹ 至韓哈濟與賀麻六乎等爭教互訐、非尋常案犯可比。自當據實奏聞、按例嚴辦、以示懲儆。乃當日該督撫僅以咨部完結、刑部亦照咨率覆、或入於彙奏、朕實不知。均屬錯誤。嗣後各省督撫遇有此等邪教爭控聚眾念經之案、即應親提案犯嚴審、從重究擬、據實具奏、以淨根株。不得顛預了事、率行咨部完結、致復蔓延滋事。刑部堂官遇有此等外省咨結之案、亦即據實特奏、從重定擬、不得咨覆完案。至邪教案內凡有發遣之犯、不得發往奉天吉林及新疆等處、將邪教復行煽惑、民人被其愚誘。將此傳諭李侍堯及各省督撫一體遵行。 *Shing hiun*, 257.

a completion and confirmation of the first. It runs as follows: —

“Whereas the Mohammedans in Kansuh have religious leaders and head-leaders who it is feared may readily mislead the people and provoke troubles, orders were lately transmitted by you to all Viceroys and Governors cautiously and carefully to search them out and cashier them. According to a memorial presented to Us by Kwoh T'ai (the Governor of Shantung), the Mohammedans in Shantung live with the native population in the same villages, and are peaceful people never provoking any troubles, nor having religious leaders or head-leaders; but by reciting sacred scriptures and praying for happiness they gradually mislead the multitude. Henceforth, whenever quarrels or fights occur among their sects, or meetings are held with recital of religious scripts, the Governor himself ought to take in hand the examination and prosecution; but questions about fields and grounds and money-loans, and quarrels for mere trifles shall be brought before the Prefects for trial; etc.

“To-day We also studied a memorial presented to Us by Yuen Sheu-t'ung 袁守侗 (the Viceroy of Chihli), in which he states that in T'ung-cheu 通州, Ts'ang-cheu 滄州, T'ien-tsin, and other places in Chihli the Moslems live in greater numbers than anywhere else, but so far keep quiet, and that only the promulgators of their holy scriptures are called Masters (師父); etc.¹

“Now the reciting of scriptures and the praying for happiness belong to the customs of the Mohammedans, and they have long kept quiet. If prohibitions are put in operation against them generally, it is to be feared that the Prefects will carry them out in a wrong way, and by vexation and annoyance will provoke

¹ 前以甘肅番回有掌教及總掌教之名、恐易惑衆滋事、因傳諭各督撫留心查革。茲據國泰奏稱東省回民均與土著民人比閭而居、實屬安靜並無滋事之人、亦無掌教及總掌教之名、但念經祈福即爲惑衆之漸。嗣後遇有爭控邪教聚衆念經之案、即親提審辦、其田土錢債爭控細故亦令赴地方官控理、等語。

本日又詢據袁守侗奏稱直隸通州滄州天津等處回民較多、尙皆安靜、惟其傳經之人稱爲師父等語。

“disorder and troubles. And if measures are taken against them “in name only, and not in deed, if the ancient policy (of “persecution) is followed only in appearance, a really good result “will not be obtained either; why then resort to such measures? “But there are people among them who by means of traditions “(sunnah?) and sacred books fan the fire of heresy and sow “heterodoxy; it is they who must be searched for with full force “and vigour and with severity, and the Viceroy or Governor in “person shall take in hand their examination and trial. And “as regards the readers of holy scriptures among the Islamitic “population of Chihli, their so-called Masters — those men are “not different from those popularly called leaders having pupils, “and yet they must not be treated like others indicated by “those terms, but (merely) be removed. The Prefects who hitherto “in these matters made their searches and examinations with “no caution or prudence at all, and on receiving Our former “decree could not abstain from prosecuting those people with “exaggerated severity, did not understand Our intentions. And “their crowd of followers, their servants and lictors have for “money let those men go free. You must therefore again send “a decree to all the Viceroys and Governors, ordering them that “their searches and trials must be conducted without alarm or “noise, and with caution and prudence, in order to further “safety; as also that no opportunities shall be given thereby “to petty officials and underlings to abuse prevailing disorder for “vexing and annoying the people; but they shall tread under foot “all written accusations which are false, as well as all practices “purporting to hamper infliction of punishments”¹.

¹ 回民念經祈福是其習俗、相安已久。若概行禁止、恐地方官奉行不善、或致騷擾激成事端。若有名無實、虛應故事、又屬無益、何必爲此。惟其中有借傳經爲煽播邪教者、則不可不實力嚴查、親提審辦。至直隸回民念經之人稱爲師父、雖亦如師徒俗稱、但究不若并其名而去之。向來地方官平日於此等事並不留心查察、及奉有諭旨又未免辦理過當、不能深喻朕意。徒滋胥役得錢放免。著再傳諭各督撫務須不動聲色留心妥協查辦、毋致吏胥人等藉端滋擾、反蹈虛文塞責之習。
Shing hiun, 257.

Curious indeed to see here the emperor himself in open confession about the practices of yamen-runners, policemen, and other low officials making Moslems objects of vexation and extortion. The official persecution was thus readily turned into what, no doubt, to a large extent it has always been (comp. p. 251): a most useful and welcome means in official hands to make money by fleecing heretics.

In spite of the fear, expressed so overtly in the above decrees, that excessive persecution of Islam might imperil the Government and the Throne, the persecution, as may be expected, was continued in the newly pacified province as anything but a theoretical affair. The triumphant authorities did the work of purification and extermination with all their might, thus blindly forcing the people to a new and more serious revolt. Preparations for a rising were indeed set afoot by the indomitable New Religion almost immediately after its first crushing defeat. It is Wei Yuen who tells us of it in the plainest terms:

"When the insurgents in Lan-cheu had been destroyed, Li Shi-yao sought out the remnants of the bands of the New Religion, and brought them to justice. In this work the low officials and lictors behaved with such dissolute vexatiousness that, in the district of Fuh-kiang, (Chang) O-hwun and T'ien Wu set up for avengers of Ma Ming-sin, and again roused the New Religion to rebellion. In the winter of that 46th year (1781) they rebuilt beforehand their intrenchments on the Shih-fung mountain in the district of Tung-wei, to make these their nesting-dens; then, in the following year, they met in their mosques to plot, and made flags, tents and arms without the officials discovering it. And in the fourth month of the 48th year (1783) fighting and capturing were resumed, after they had first removed their families to the Shih-fung entrenchments" ¹.

The principal decrees relating to the ensuing events, we find in chapter 50 of the *Shing hui*, and one in chapter 258. On the 22nd of the fourth month (June 10), 1784, a decree announces that

¹ 初蘭州賊滅後、李侍堯查治新教餘黨。吏胥肆騷、於是伏羌縣阿渾田五等藉詞爲馬明心報復、仍興新教。於四十六年冬預葺通渭縣之石峯堡爲巢穴、次年聚謀禮拜寺、造旗帳兵械、而吏不知也。四十八年四月復殺掠起、先徙其家屬於石峯堡。 *Shing wu ki*, chap. 7.

the rebels of the New Religion, led by T'ien Wu, had also seized Ku-yuen 固原, eastward of the provincial capital. But then, one month later, on the 16th day (4th July), a decree tells of a fight in Fuh-kiang, in which the troops of the provincial Commander-in-Chief overpowered the rebels and captured T'ien Wu, who thereupon died of his wounds, or committed suicide. "Li Shi-yao then "put to death more than a thousand of their wives and babes, "after which the rebels Ma Szë-kwei and Chang Wen-khing everywhere spread the report that the Government forces intended "to kill all Mohammedans, and the excited tribes rose up "on all sides"¹. The emperor considered the state of affairs serious enough to send Fuh Khang-ngan 福康安, his most trusty general, who had won laurels in sundry campaigns, to the scene of action as Viceroy and plenipotentiary. And he entrusted the chief command over the military forces to Hai Lan-ch'ah, with whom we are already acquainted (p. 314). They arrived in the army on the 7th of the sixth month, and after a short campaign in which the imperials mustered in overwhelming majority, attacked the insurgents with their wives and children in their entrenchments on the Shih-fung mountain, supported by the forces of O Kwei.

On the 5th of the seventh month (Aug. 21) this last bulwark succumbed, after an unsuccessful sally. The slaughter was awful. According to an Imperial decree of the 11th of the seventh month (27 Aug.), Fuh Khang-ngan reported "that the leaders and heads "of the rebels were on this occasion all sought and captured to "the last; that in the two days carnage more than two thousand "rebel Mohammedans were killed or taken prisoner, and more "than three thousand leaders and accomplices in the revolt, and "relatives and children of insurgents were captured"². Among the prisoners was Chang Wen-khing, who, as we learn from a decree of the 9th of the tenth month (22d Nov.), was sent to Peking, put on trial by the emperor himself, and slashed alive; his whole kindred was also put to death, "so that not even a single one of them remained alive" (無孑遺). But, thus the emperor wrote

¹ 李侍堯誅婦孺千餘、賊黨馬四圭張文慶等流言官兵欲勦絕回衆、煽黨肆出. *Op. et loc. cit.*

² 搜捕將首逆賊目全數擒獲、兩日打仗殲擒賊回共二千餘名、拏獲首從逆犯及各賊眷屬孩稚共三千餘口. *Shing hiun* 50.

in the same state-paper — “all this is not enough to diminish Our “wrath and anger and gladden the hearts of men. All the inferior “relations of the accomplices of the rebels shall be distributed as “slaves, in reward of service rendered; and juniors or children who “run away (to escape that fate) shall, as soon as caught, be forth- “with put to death, as a punishment for the murderous wickedness “displayed. All this is the punishment which the rebellious Moslems “draw on themselves; therefore let all Mohammedans in every “province, each of them for himself, henceforth inspire others with “caution and fear, keep quiet and obey the laws, and do their “best to be loyal people; and let them take warning by T’ien Wu “and Chang Wen-khing”¹.

It goes without saying that O Kwei, Fuh Khang-ngan, Hai Lan-ch’ah, and sundry minor notabilities in the service of the demon of war, were rewarded by the emperor with high honours and sonorous titles. These were granted by the same decree of the 27th August, which we mentioned above. Of more interest, however, to us is a long manifesto which the emperor issued to the Great Chancery on the first day of the sixth month (June 18), when the revolt was at its height, for it clearly defines the political line of action followed by the Government with respect to the Wahhabees and the insurgents.

“The Mohammedans of the inner country (China proper) came “there long ago. When Our House spread its awe and influence “far away, it pacified and tranquilized the Moslems of Dzun- “garia, and the Western countries were all united under the “rule of the New Frontier Province and registered there- “with; the Mohammedans came to audience at Court at annual “turns, and incessantly travelled about in all directions, while “the people of the inner country also frequently went to the “Islamic regions to trade. That among them there were who “examined and tested their religious scriptures, discussed their “practices and their rescripts, and followed these as their fixed “line of conduct, was not forbidden by our laws. But then “there have arisen denominations such as Red Turbans, White

¹ 尚不足以洩忿恨而快人心。其從逆各犯名下分賞爲奴、幼孩一經逃逸拿獲後俱立時正法、以懲兇孽。此皆逆回等自取罪戾所致、嗣後各省回衆務宜各加警惕、安靜守法、勉爲良民、以田五張文慶等爲戒。 *Shing hiun*, 258.

"Turbans, New Religion, and Old Religion. In point of fact the "Islamites in the New Frontier Province consider the Old Religion "as the orthodox one, and the religion now professed by those "who live in the inner country does not differ from that of the "Moslems in Kashgar and Yarkand, nor is this the case with "the holy script they preach. Thus, originally, there existed no "distinction between a new and an old creed, the less so as, "both in the inner country and outside it, the inhabitants are "all the same Our registered people and babes, on whom We have "favours to bestow when they are obedient, but whom the laws "cannot pardon in any way when they are rebellious¹.

"The insurgent chief T'ien Wu has been killed, but still his "remaining crew with Ma Hu-tszě and Li Hu-tszě have the "audacity under the civilizing sun of Our luminous heaven to "crowd together and commit acts of violence, attack our cities, "and surprise our fortresses. Hence they represent among the "Moslem population nothing but a heretical sect, just as the "White Lotus society does among the Buddhist clergy. Some time "ago We have ordered O Kwei, the Grand Secretary, and Fuh Khang-ngan, the Viceroy of Shensi and Kansuh, to repair thither and "manage matters. We have at the same time sent troops from the "Metropolis, and with flying haste mobilized those stationed in Szě-ch'wen, trained by the campaign against the Tibetans, as also Mongol "troops everywhere from Alashan and Ordos, to assist in fighting "them. Our great army thus assembling there as clouds, it may be "expected that those trifling, insignificant miscreants will not cause "us any trouble, but will quickly be destroyed and swept away².

1 內地回人其來已久。我國家威稜遠播、平定準部回部、西域咸隸版圖新疆、回人年班入覲、往來絡繹、內地民人亦多至回疆貿易。其有查對經卷、講習規條者、相習爲常、例所不禁。遂有紅帽白帽新教舊教之名。其實新疆之回人正其舊教也、且現在內地回民所習之教所講之經皆與喀什噶爾葉爾羌等處回人經教無異。原無新舊之別、況內外均屬編氓赤子、順則恩有可加、逆則法無可宥。

2 今賊首田五已就殲斃、其餘黨馬鬍子李鬍子等膽敢於光天化日之下聚衆鳴張攻城掠堡。卽屬回民中之邪教、如僧中白蓮教之類而已。昨已

"As to O Kwei and Fuh Khang-ngan — as soon as they have "destroyed the rebels, they shall with all their might ransack "the places over which the insurgents have passed and have "fanned up the people to embrace their cause, and they shall "there catch those who, when peace still prevailed, made com- "mon cause with the rebels or knew about them, as also those "who after the rising carried letters for them, or helped them "with victuals; for it is these people who are the rebels of the "heretical religion; and they shall put them to death, lest such "nurturing of the canker as Li Shi-yao has indulged in, take "place again. And the rest of the Islamites, who took no part in "the insurrection, shall not positively be distinguished again as "adherents of the Old Creed and of the New; all of them are loyalists; "none of them need be overtaken by the wave (of suppression "and extermination); they shall be exempted from being involved "and prosecuted with the bulk. Thus the matter simply comes to "this, that distinction must be made between accomplices and "non-accomplices of the insurgents, and that the question whether "they are heretics or of the orthodox creed is not necessarily "to be made a point of consideration. There is between the "new form of their religion and the old one a relation like that "which exists between the Buddhist and Taoist clergy who are "not forbidden by the Law, and the White Lotus sect and other "heretic religions which must positively be searched for on account "of misleading the people with left Tao, and thus making them "crowd together to create troubles. Henceforth O Kwei and the "others shall, in their missives addressed to Us, comprise the "Mohammedan bands taking part in the rebellion, altogether "under the denomination of heretics, and they shall no more "positively distinguish them by the words new and old, in order "that the whole Moslem population may get convinced that We "are thoroughly acquainted with the fact that their religion in "its original form was not divided in different parts, and that "it is Our earnest desire that the guiltless and the loyal who "keep the laws, be not, on account of peace-disturbing rebels, "involved with these (in their ruin).

"Promulgate this everywhere in the Metropolis and abroad.

命大學士阿桂、陝甘總督福康安前往督辦。並派京兵、及飛調四川屯練降番、暨阿拉善鄂爾多斯各處蒙古兵丁、到彼協勦。大兵雲集、諒此么麼小醜自無難、速就殲除。

"And O Kwei and Fuh Khang-ngan shall, wherever Moslems live, "publish this manifesto by posting it up all around; and the "same shall be done in each province" ¹.

Clearly enough this manifesto is an open declaration of war against the Wahhabees. It brands them as the rebellious schismatics of Islam, as the White Lotus communities are the schismatics of Buddhism, and demands that they, like the latter, shall be exterminated. "From that time", thus Wei Yuen writes, "it was for ever forbidden the Moslems to found the New Religion" ². During the murderous chase for rebels, the prescribed "removal" (p. 316 and 319) of the religious chiefs from the non-rebellious districts wherever they could be laid hands upon, continued unrelentingly. A decree of the 9th of the sixth month (July 26) 1784 (*Sh. h.* 258) tells us of the stubborn Ma Wu-yih 馬五一 and two other Moslems, who, despatched from Kansuh to the malarious regions of Hainan island, on passing through Tsch'ang-sha in Hunan, were found to be accompanied by three relations attending them and cooking their food; besides, they had with them some hundred taels of silver and six hundred pieces of silk fringe for garniture of official hats, to trade with in the land of exile. The emperor, highly indignant to hear of such iniquity, proclaims that he has sent orders to Fuh Khang-ngan for the arrest of the careless or kind-hearted officials in Kansuh who were charged with despatching those

¹ 至阿桂福康安、於勦滅賊匪後祇須將賊人經過煽誘之處所有平時與賊人勾結知情、及賊起事後代爲往來送信接濟糧食之人、即係邪教亂民、必須實力搜捕正法、勿使復如李侍堯之養癰。其餘並未從逆之回人不必更分舊教新教、皆係良民、概毋庸波及、以免株連總之查辦。此事止當分別從逆與否、邪正之殊不必論。其教之新舊即如僧道原非例禁而白蓮等邪教之必應查究者、亦以其左道惑民聚衆滋事也。嗣後阿桂等奏摺內凡從逆回匪俱稱邪教、不必復分新舊名目、俾回民等咸知朕洞悉其教根源不分畛域、斷不肯因滋事賊匪將無辜守法良民一併株連之至意。

將此通諭中外。並著阿桂福康安及各直省於凡有回民處謄黃遍貼宣示知之。 *Shing hiun*, chap. 24.

² 自是永禁回民不得立新教。 *Shing wu ki*, chap. 7.

Moslems and had connived at these things; they shall be sent up to the Board of Punishment in Peking for trial. And in future, in no province may the Viceroy or Governor allow such things to happen again in the case of banished criminals so dangerous as Moslems, and they shall permit only ordinary exiles to carry with them relations, or money and goods for their sustenance. Thus — we see it here again — for heretics the Imperial Government always had in store some extra harshness.

Of course it can hardly be doubted that it was in the main the fanaticism of the Wahhabees themselves which provoked this religious war with all its bloody and unbloody horrors. But, after all, it is equally difficult to deny that persecutions under the three Viceroys Leh 'rh-kin, Li Shi-yao and Fuh Khang-ngan must have furthered its outbreak. Many followers of the Old Creed may have sought safety against the new fanatics under the Imperial banners; yet on the other hand, exasperation may have driven many into the arms of those warlike, dauntless renovators. Be this as it may, it is a fact that, five years later, we find persecution still going on, and leading to fresh collisions. What had happened in the mean time we cannot tell, for the *Shing hiun* gives us no decrees.

The only thing we know for certain is that Leh Pao 勒保, the new Viceroy of Shensi and Kansuh, also was a diligent heresy-hunter. For we learn from a decree of the 18th of the seventh month, or of the 20th day of the ninth or eleventh¹, 1788, issued to the Council of State (*Sh. h.* 258), that that dignitary had reported the discovery of a sect founded by a native of the district of Pao-ki 寶雞, named Lei Teh-pen 雷得本, who called himself a shen-sien 神仙, that is to say, a god or genius, or both together. This community, called the Ts'iao-ts'iao hwui 悄悄會, had a holy book which the members recited to avert evil; the members also levied contributions among themselves. Searches had been made by the high provincial officers in several districts of the Fung-siang 鳳翔 department, as Pao-ki, Fu-fung 扶風, Khien-yang 汧陽, Lung 隴, and Khi-shan 岐山², with the effect that the headman was captured, houses were ransacked, and the dangerous book, entitled the Canon of Several Pearls (數珠經卷), was brought forth, together with some persons who had copied, promulgated and distributed it. The

¹ The *Shing hiun* by mistake omits to mention the month.

² See the sketch map on page 313.

members thus far discovered amounted to more than three hundred, of both sexes and various age. "The manner in which this prosecution has taken place, is excellent" (所辦甚好), proclaims the emperor. Despatch Our orders to the Viceroy, to the effect that he shall thoroughly examine those culprits, put them to death, and send to Us reports of his achievements; and order him to search diligently for all further criminals, in order that they may be prosecuted to the very last, without one of them slipping through the nets.

This time we read nothing else regarding this Ts'iao-t'siao sect. Its name may mean the Quiet Seclusion community, or something like that, but it savours also of a transcription of some foreign sound, though we have no reason to see anything Mohammedan in it. We shall once more read of a cruel crusade against it in 1805. That deserving Viceroy, thus highly commended by his Imperial Lord for his zeal against those heretics, we find in the next year duly in collision with the Wahhabees. Suddenly a decree of the 30th of the sixth month (Aug. 20) 1789 (*Sh. h.* 259) brings us the memorable news reported by him, that "the Moslem bands of Si-ning had crowded together and created disturbance, but that the armed force of the mandarins had totally slaughtered and captured them" (西寧回匪聚衆滋事、經官兵全行殺獲), after which the remainder of their crew had been seized and prosecuted. He proposed that one Ma Yiu-ch'ing 馬有成 with twenty-three other suspected Moslems should with their whole kindred be exiled to Yunnan and Kwangsi. Although these votaries of the New Religion, thus proclaims the emperor, were re-converted to the old creed, it is far from prudent to place them in the said provinces, which are so near the empire proper, and where Moslems dwell whom they might seduce. It is better to banish them to Heh-lung-kiang, and there give them as slaves to the Solon Tartars. The Viceroy has also reported that in Kansuh the greater portion of the Moslems first adopted the new creed, but after the sanguinary punitive expedition of 1781—84 returned to the old faith, a considerable number of these converts remaining, however, secret opponents of the latter. "On this ground", the emperor declares, "I think that the old Mohammedan religion must now possess more adherents than the new. Since the latter was prohibited, its secret followers, because of the rigorous searches made for them, have lacked courage openly to profess it; but there is, of course, no reason why the followers of the old creed should not know them by seeing their doings in every respect so dif-

"ferent from their own; why then not make use of this circumstance?
 "In times of prosecution, the Mohammedans of the old faith shall
 "be given to understand that they have to point out one by one
 "all persons who again profess the New Religion; these can then
 "be searched for and arrested, and severely prosecuted, in order
 "that the roots as well as the stem may be purified for ever.
 "But all this shall be done with proper consideration of the cir-
 "cumstances, without noise or ostentation; secret ways are the
 "safest. No time must be wasted, and no consternation spread"¹.

Here then we see the prudent polity of Shi Tsung, purporting non-interference with the Moslems in matters of religion (see p. 269), boldly thrown to the winds by his son, and replaced by one of extermination and merciless persecution of the party of renovation. Confucian fanaticism thus recklessly confronting Islamic frenzy and scorn of death, hazarded a war to the knife, which only the fewness of the renovators and a cunning coalition with the adherents of the Old Religion could stop. On the day following the promulgation of the above decree, another appeared, bearing upon that same collision (*Sh. h.* 259). In the spring, thus it reads, Leh Pao was at Peking, and declared at the Imperial audience, that after the chastisement of 1781—84 all the Wahhabees had returned to the Old Religion. But now he reports that the Moslem Su Tai-yuen 蘇代原, living in the stronghold of the Su family (蘇家堡), has again made the New Religion raise its head, and with his people has engaged in bloody strife with the armed force. This incident proves that the work of extermination has not been done thoroughly. Under Fuh Khang-ngan's government nothing was heard of conspiracy or disturbance. So if Leh Pao, his successor, had diligently searched for all the remnants of the New Religion and applied the laws upon them in their full weight, no public religious meetings, nor consequent collision with the troops could possibly have occurred. At the approach of the armed force, the Moslems

¹ 因思回民舊教自必多於新教。其飭禁之後仍行暗習新教者、因查察甚嚴、不敢公然顯露、而舊教中人見其行事各異自無不知之理、何不乘此。查辦時曉諭舊教回民令其將仍習新教之人逐一指出、即可按名查緝嚴行辦理、以期永淨根株。但須酌看情形、不動聲色、密爲妥辦。毋得稍涉張皇。

retired into their stronghold and repulsed the assailants by throwing stones at them from the house-roofs; but the Viceroy had stated before the Throne that all the strongholds in the hills had been duly cleared away! So they must have been secretly rebuilt. The Viceroy shall therefore see to it that those which are in ruins are not erected anew, though the existing ones may be left untouched, lest their demolition should provoke resistance and revolt.

Thus a division of troops heroically pouncing upon the Mohammedans during a religious meeting, was beaten off with stones and sherds! Though we do not find it mentioned anywhere, we cannot reasonably doubt that fresh slaughter followed this incident, and that the Su clan was punished in the usual way for such opposition and rebellion: cut to pieces, beheaded, strangled, castrated, exiled, and doomed to slavery.

General Persecution of Christians, and Expulsion of Missionaries.

As was to be expected, the glorious success with which in 1784 the slaughter of the turbulent Mohammedan population in Kansuh was crowned, forthwith prompted the laurelled victors to look round for fresh victims among heretical religionists. And by way of a change they fixed this time upon defenceless Christians living in the environs of the viceregal residence Si-ngan. On the 11th of the eleventh month (Dec. 23) of that year there appeared an Imperial decree, addressed to the Council of State, reading as follows:

"Pih Yuen¹ reports to Us that in Yiu-ho-ch'wen, in the district of Wei-nan², in the houses of Sū Tsung-fuh and Han Fung-ts'ai "two Europeans have been detected, called Ni-ma Fang-tsi-koh, "also known as Bishop Fan, and Ma-noh. Religious books in European "type, together with coloured portraits, letters, etc., have been "seized with them. Their examination under torture has brought "to light that the former is a European from Italy, who has been "residing in Shensi for twenty-three years. He came by sea to "Canton under guidance of a "spiritual chief" (native pastor) of "the tribe Su, and from Canton he travelled to Shansi and Shensi,

1 This grandee, then Governor of Shensi, won notoriety in matters of heresy through the publication of the writings of the renowned heresiarch of olden days, Mih Tih (see p. 11). Comp. The Rel. System of China, Book I, p. 666. He wrote his preface to that work in 1783, a year before this persecution of Christians.

2 See the sketch-map on page 313.

"to propagate his religion. And the other, Ma-noh, is a Macao man, who went to Europe when he was young, to study the holy scriptures, and later on returned to Canton, from where, according to his confessions, he was taken by one Chang Tao-ming, a person from the Wei-nan district in Shensi, to Si-ngan, and there took up his abode. Afterwards he settled in Wei-nan in the house of one Tu Hing-chi. Upon further examination they confessed that in this same province in the department of Han-chung, and in Shansi in the Hung-tung district and the departments of Lu-ngan and Ta-t'ung¹ still more followers of the religion of the Lord of Heaven live, as also Europeans propagating it, and that this is also the case in Shantung, Hukwang and Chihli; moreover, that in this year their chief at Rome sent a letter announcing the mission of ten persons to Shansi, Shensi, Hukwang, Chihli, and Shantung. The prisoners are now separately sent to Peking, and a letter is directed by me to each of those provinces, that those persons may be arrested there; etc., etc.²

"In the Yung ching period (1723—1735) the religion of the Lord of Heaven of the Europeans was strictly forbidden, and the natives were not allowed to propagate or profess it. And yet this Ni-ma Fang-tsi-koh was brought by a native to Canton, to sneak afterwards by tortuous paths into the provinces, where he lived, and made proselytes and periodical inspections for more than twenty years. During this time he frequently visited various provinces; how is it that the Prefects

¹ See the map on page 352.

² 據畢沅奏渭南縣屬油河川等處徐宗福韓奉材家搜獲西洋人呢嗎方濟各、即范主教、及馬諾二名。并起獲洋字經本畫像書信等件。當加研訊其呢嗎方濟各係大西洋噫打哩啞國人、在陝二十三年。從前有內地人蘇神甫勾引由洋至廣、復由廣至山西陝西傳教。其馬諾一名係澳門人、自幼往西洋學習經典、仍回廣東、有陝西渭南縣人張多明接我到西安居住。後來又在渭南縣杜興智家內居住。並訊據供出該省漢中府山西洪洞縣潞安府大同府及山東湖廣直隸等省俱有學習天主教、及西洋人在彼傳教、本年羅瑪當家寄信、內言及現派十人分往山陝湖廣直隸山東等省。現在分別解京、並分咨各省緝拿等語。

"there have never seen a sign or symptom of him, although the Europeans differ so conspicuously from the natives both in features and speech? This proves that those convicts concealed their ways and doings mysteriously, and held intercourse with none but their co-religionists; now since such suspicious people with such ways and doings are about in the prefectures, searches must, of course, at once be made for them, and they shall be placed in strict confinement, lest rural simplicity be enflamed and misled¹.

"As to this Ni-ma Fang-tsi-koh and this Ma-noh, arrested in Shensi, together with Sū Tsung-fuh who had invited them to dwell with him, Pih Yuen shall elicit clear and reliable confessions from them, and thereupon shall send them with all speed to Peking under escort of trustworthy officials, in order to be tried, examined and sentenced. And Liu Si-man and others, detected during the interrogatory, but as yet not captured, he shall arrest with severity and bring to judgment. The fact that, as the confessions have revealed, there are Europeans in Shansi, Shantung, Hukwang and Chihli promulgating that religion amongst the natives, is most pernicious to the human mind and to the manners and customs. Liu Ngo, Nung Khi, Ming Hing, T'eh Ch'ing-khoh, and Luh Yao (Viceroys and Governors in those provinces) shall therefore as one man secretly search for them and arrest them with severity; they shall send the criminals of importance with the utmost speed to Peking, and by preventing those culprits from receiving intelligence of what is going on and from making their escape, they shall cause their arrests to be really effected. If after these prosecutions in their respective provinces still more Europeans shall be imported there, or their heresies furtively spread and professed, this will be taken as a proof that those Viceroys or Governors have not searched for them and tried them with energy, but have been negligent and careless in this respect. If at some future time such matters

1 西洋人天主教於雍正年間即奉嚴禁、不許內地人傳習。乃呢嗎方濟各等初則爲內地人勾引至廣、繼則紛紛潛至各省居住傳教時閱二十餘年。地則連及數省、各地方官何竟毫無知覺、且西洋人面貌語言與內地迥別。即該犯等行蹤詭祕、止與同教人往來、而地方有此形跡可疑之人、自當即時訪察嚴拿、不使鄉愚互相煽惑。

"should come to light by some side-channel, the Viceroy or Governor concerned shall himself be prosecuted"¹.

Nine days later, still another decree bearing upon the same matter was issued to the Council of State: — "That Europeans have spread over various provinces, is all in the first place due to the fact that the Prefects in Kwangtung have not known how to discover or check them; then again in the provinces the officers were so careless, that none of them noticed those people or searched for them, thus enabling them to conceal themselves in the various prefectures. Liu Ngo (Viceroy of Chihli) and his colleagues shall therefore again be instructed by you to issue strict orders to their subordinate mandarins, to the effect that these shall as speedily as possible search for those people and arrest them. They shall not consider these instructions as idle orders to capture a sea, but cause their arrest to be really effected"².

"Europeans propagating their religion here, and thereby leading the people into error, are extremely fatal to the manners and customs and to the human heart. Apart from the extra decree issued by Us at the condemnation of the captured Europeans Padre Ying etc., sent up to Peking, and promulgated against barbarians in the regions concerned, the native pastors living at present in all provinces must still more rigorously be

¹ 現在陝省已將呢嗎方濟各馬諾及延請該犯等在家居住之徐宗福等拿獲、著畢沅訊供明確後即遴委妥員將各犯迅速解京歸案審辦。其訊出未獲之劉西滿等各犯著一併嚴拿辦理。至山西山東湖廣直隸各省據供俱有西洋及內地人輾轉傳教、最爲人心風俗之害。著劉峩農起明興特成額陸燿一體嚴密查拿、將緊要之犯迅速解京、毋使該犯等得以聞風遠颺、致稽弋獲。如各省經此次查辦之後復有勾引西洋人及私自傳習邪教之案、則是該督撫查辦不力、漫不經心。將來別經發覺、惟該督撫是問。 *Shing hün*, 258.

² 西洋人蔓延數省皆由廣東地方官未能稽察防範所致、而各該省又復漫無覺察、以致潛匿各該地方。著再傳諭劉峩等嚴行飭屬迅速查拿。毋得視爲海捕具文、致稽弋獲。

"prohibited. Natives bearing that title are not essentially different from people who accept from those barbarians official dignities, and they deserve on this account the most severe punishment¹. But I clemently take into consideration that, ignorant people as they are, they were merely misled and decoyed by the opportunity to earn money from those men and to obtain their support and aid. So they must, after being properly examined, be banished to Ili, and there be given as slaves to the Oelöt; and should they have received silver money from those foreigners, the property of the family they have sprung from must entirely be confiscated for the benefit of the authorities. Also those whom they have drawn over to act as propagandists, shall be sent into slavery to the Oelöt in Ili, in order that it be publicly shown that there exist punishments to deter from such things. And as for natives who keep the Christian commandments and profess that religion because it was handed down to them by their grandparents and parents, they shall, of course, be forced to conversion²; and so their books, writings, and other things brought to light must be melted or burned, and they shall be tried according to the supplementary articles (of the Law against Heresy), without however its being necessary to make a very profound search (for other co-religionists) and sentence all in a body along with them³.

1 The bearing of a title or dignity not conferred or recognized by the emperor, is, as we shall have frequent opportunity to see, always punishable as rebellion against established authority.

2 So, evidently, the Supreme Government deems heresy worse than disregard of the example of parents, that is to say (comp. p. 267), even worse than one of the worst moral crimes. That its laws are paramount to orders of parents, as to all orders whatever, is self-evident.

3 西洋人傳教惑衆最爲風俗人心之害。除已獲解京之西洋人吧哱哩映等定案時另降諭旨傳諭該處夷人外、現在各省神甫名目尤當嚴禁。內地民人有稱神甫者即與受其官職無異、本應重治其罪。姑念愚民被惑、且利其財物伙助。審明後應擬發往伊犁、給額魯特爲奴、該犯等曾受其番銀者、其原籍家產並應查抄入官。所有援引傳教之人亦應發往伊犁、給額魯特爲奴、以示懲儆。至內地民人因祖父相傳持戒供奉、自當勒令悔改、即將呈出經卷等項銷燬、照例辦理、毋庸深究總之。

"The primary cause of this affair simply is that Europeans coming to Kwangtung for trading purposes, kept intercourse with the natives, and thus were enabled stealthily to make their way into every province, an evil which the provinces could not prevent, but had to wink at. Hitherto even in the case of Europeans wishing to come to Peking of their own free will to labour there (in Government service), the Viceroy or the Governor of the province concerned, had to petition about them to the Throne, and when permission had been granted, officials were despatched by that officer to conduct them to Peking, without their being allowed to leave this city and provoke troubles; how is it then that this time their head in Rome, as if he were one in authority, sends a great number of them out to the provinces to spread his religion? Macao lies very close to the provinces; the Prefects there must as a rule have been quite blind and deaf since they have perceived and discovered nothing. In pronouncing sentences in this affair, punishment will also have to be meted out to some of those officers. And if hereafter it should happen again that Europeans secretly come out and cause disturbance, then, if the matter is detected in any way, the Viceroy or Governor concerned shall himself be prosecuted, and his offence shall be punished most severely without invocation of Our indulgence on his behalf. Let this decree be promulgated to everybody for information"¹.

Concerning this general hunt for missionaries and native priests we find a few lines in a "Notice sur Monseigneur Dufresse", in the "Annales de la Propagation de la Foi" IV, p. 44. Dufresse was arrested on the 24th of February of the following year, and carried to Peking, with other missionaries from different provinces, especially from Szě-ch'wen. Many of them died of sufferings and

¹ 此案皆由西洋人赴廣貿易、與內地民人勾結、以致潛往各省、該省自不能辭疏縱之咎。向來西洋人情願進京効力者尚須該省督撫奏明、允准後遣員伴送來京、原不許其外出滋事、何以此次羅瑪當家竟公然分派多人赴各省傳教。澳門距省甚近、地方官平日竟如聾瞶、毫無覺察。定案時自有應得處分。倘嗣後仍有西洋人潛出滋事者、一經發覺、惟該督撫是問、即當重治其罪、不能復邀寬典也。將此各諭令知之。 *Shing hiun*, 258.

misery in the terrible Chinese prisons. We know nothing else about that bishop Ni-ma Fang-tsi-koh, nor of his companion in suffering Ma-noh, nor of Padre Ying. As the "Catalogus Patrum ac Fratrum e Societate Jesu qui Evangelio Propagando in Sinis adlaboraverunt"¹ does not give these names, they probably were not Jesuits. Fang-tsi-koh and Ma-noh are forms of transcription, in common use in the Mission, for Francesco and Emmanuel. Pih Yuen by giving the impulse to this general anti-Christian crusade, has for ever imprinted his name on one of the most gloomy pages of the history of the Mission.

Persecution and Mutiny of the Sect of the Eight Diagrams.
1786—1788.

This religious community is not quite unknown to the reader. He has seen it is proscribed, together with the sects of the White and the Red Yang, and those of the Lotus and of the Prophet Lo, in an article of the Law against Heresy, which in its present form dates from 1821 (see p. 146). We have also been informed (p. 152) that, side by side with the White Yang and the Red Yang sects, it is established especially in Chihli, Shantung, Honan, and Shingking. And further it has been stated (p. 155) that it has its name from the old, classical division of the Tao, or course of the world, into eight phenomena represented by lineal diagrams, or so-called *kwa* (p. 177—178).

But, as we have demonstrated in another work², those diagrams are also used to denominate the divisions of the Universe according to the eight cardinal points. These divisions or sectors, called *kung* 宮 or Mansions, are generally arranged around a ninth, representing the centre of the compass; and so we find the sect often called *Kiu-kung kiao* 九宮教 or the Religion of the Nine Mansions. It is subdivided into eight main sections distinguished by the names of the diagrams. Each section has its own religious chief, hierarch or pontiff, and one of these men is the general head of the whole religion, a kind of *primus inter pares*. These and other particulars will come out clearly in these and other pages of this volume.

The religion of the Eight Diagrams evidently flourished most in the region north of the Hwangho, which is intersected by the Great Canal and the Wei 衛 river, that is to say, in the north-easterly part of Honan, the conterminous southern projection of Chihli, and

¹ Published in 1873 at Shanghai, by A. Pfister S. J. Revised Edition of 1892.

² The Religious System of China, Book I, p. 961 and foll.

the part of Shantung situated against this projection, to the east (see the map on page 298). We know this country, for in 1774 it was the scene of persecutions which entailed the rebellion of Wang Lun and its bloody suppression. We shall behold there in 1813 a similar, but more terrible scene. And now we have to witness a heresy-hunt likewise provoking a rebellious movement.

A decree of the 20th of the seventh month (Sept. 13), 1786, (*Sh. h.* 258) tells us, that according to a report of Liu Ngo, the Viceroy of Chihli, an armed attack had been made in the night of the 14th on the district-prefecture in the chief city of the Ta-ming 大名 department. At the same time the Yamen of the Taotai was stormed, and this official with some sixteen others killed. On this the assailants fled out of the city, leaving five of their men in the hands of the mandarins. The emperor directed the Viceroy to the spot, to arrange matters and examine the captives. And orders were sent by him to Pih Yuen, now Governor of Honan, and to Ming Hing, the Governor of Shantung, to despatch reliable officers and troops to the parts of their territory bordering on Ta-ming, there to arrest the fugitives, elicit confessions, and execute them, without having to deliver them up to Chihli.

According to a decree of the next day, Liu Ngo also reported that the captured men had confessed that the plot had emanated from sectaries of the Eight Diagrams, who wanted to release their chief Liu Hung 劉洪, just then enjailed in his dwelling-place Shen 單, a district-city in the south-west of Shantung. Ta-ming being situated at a considerable distance from this place, viz. at some eighty geographical minutes, we are tempted to admit that the sectaries, exasperated at the prevailing persecutions of which our sources do not tell, intended a general rising in several districts where, no doubt, they counted their followers by thousands. It had also been confessed that the chief of the sect in the neighbouring Kwang-p'ing 廣平 district, Twan Wen-king 段文經, had on the day of the assault a conference with Sū Khoh-chen 徐克展, the sectarian chief in the Yuen-ch'ing 元城 district of which Ta-ming is the chief city, on which occasion they resolved to assail the yamens, plunder the arsenals, storm the prisons, and rescue Liu Hung.

Perhaps, so the emperor writes, the rebels are already on their way towards Shen. Let the Governor of Shantung forthwith be instructed to proceed thither and submit the captive Liu Hung to a very sharp, thorough interrogation; he shall make him confess who are his adherents, and whither his brother 'Rh-hung

二洪 has fled; then these persons shall be hunted up by his functionaries, and he shall take Liu Hung to the provincial capital, and keep him there in most rigorous confinement, to have him ready at hand for further investigations. And the Viceroy of Chihli shall with all speed proceed to Ta-ming, in order in person to supervise the prosecutions, and to see that none of the culprits slip through the net.

A third decree, issued to the Council of State on the 3rd of the next month, asserts that the sect had been propagating its doctrines for a length of years, and that the number of people won over by its several ramifications to the faith that the reciting of holy books can ward off evil, must be very great. A general persecution now, would therefore be highly inopportune, as apt to create consternation and provoke fright in several provinces at once; at all events an affair of endless length might grow out of it. Liu Ngo, Ming Hing, and Pih Yuen shall therefore not yet proceed with extermination on a large scale, but for the present content themselves with instituting a severe prosecution against the accomplices of Twan Wen-king and all who plotted with him, or took an active part in the revolt; and they shall put them to death as soon as possible. "Not until this affair is finished shall they, in the next winter or spring, in all secrecy instruct their Prefects anew to commence the pursuit and prosecution without causing any agitation or alarm, in order to clear the heretical sect of its root and its stem (its leaders?); it will then not yet be too late"¹. Twan Wen-king and Sū Khoh-chen shall before all others be diligently hunted up, to be publicly cut in pieces. Liu Ngo has reported to Us that he has captured accomplices of these two miscreants in various districts, and has his soldiers on their heels; but how is it that the news of their arrest is delayed so long? No doubt they have escaped to Shantung or Honan. Therefore the three Governors shall again be ordered to capture them within a fixed limit of time.

There is in the *Shing hiun* (ch. 258) still a fourth edict bearing upon these events. It was issued on the 11th day of the ninth month (Nov. 1). We read in it, that one Hao Jun-ch'ing 郝潤成 had been delivered up from Honan to the Council of State, and that this august body had unmasked him as a sectary of

¹ 俟此案辦完時、或於今冬明春再密令各該地方官不動聲色訪查究辦、以淨邪教根株、亦不爲遲。

the branch bearing the name of the Chen 震 diagram, in which he was initiated by a member of the Li 離 diagram. According to his confessions, the general chief (總頭) of the last-named branch, established somewhere in Honan, was one Kao'Rh 高二; and in Fei-hiang 肥鄉 within the Kwang-p'ing department, and in Ta-ming the sub-headmen (副頭) were respectively one Yang Lao-wu 楊老五 and one Chih Chi-yuen 鄧智遠. The emperor commands the Governor of Honan secretly to arrest this Kao'Rh, but without causing alarm, lest the sectaries should become turbulent and rise. And the Viceroy of Chihli shall arrest those two other chiefs as soon as he shall have brought the suit in Ta-ming to a close. Finally searches for the chiefs of the six remaining diagrams, shall also be undertaken in silence, so that the sect may be cleared of its roots and its stem, and not a trace of the evil may survive.

We have no certainty whether the projected dastardly onset on the sects and their chiefs, as soon as they were thrown a little off their guard by a suspense of the persecution, did really come off. Not a single edict referring to anything of the kind have we discovered in the *Shing hün*. But from the fact that two years later persecutions were still going on with all the ferocious mercilessness commonly accompanying them, we are led to believe that the terrible project became terrible reality. According to a decree of the 18th of the sixth month (July 22), 1788, Ming Hing, in the mean time removed to Shansi, reported the arrest of Kwoh Tsun 郭俊 and Kwoh Sin 郭信, two men from the Hu-kwan 壺關 district, situated in that province on the frontiers of Chang-teh 彰德, the most north-easterly department of Honan (s. p. 298); with whom still other sectaries of the Chen diagram were captured. The houses of all the members had been ransacked by specially appointed officials, but not a trace had been found of books or writings, nor anything illegal. The prisoners had professed to be followers of one Pei Sih-fu 裴錫富 in Honan, and Shansi borders on that province; therefore, as the emperor philosophises, the heretic sect must have spread from Honan to Shansi. The hymns and formulas of the prisoners had been found to contain nothing of a rebellious nature, nor any single character pointing to any illegality. Nevertheless such sects as a rule commence with teaching people by word of mouth to behave virtuously, in order that evil may be warded off and their happiness promoted; and this being done with no other purpose but to exact money, the people in their ignorance are swindled and misled. And when such pro-

pagation has been going on for some time, prosecution is no longer possible without causing fermentation and disturbance. It is therefore of the greatest moment that, as soon as detected, the roots and the stem (leaders and chiefs?) be cleared away. "And even though upon investigation of their crimes these are found not to be crimes which cannot be pardoned, yet they may not be left within the country" (雖覈其情罪尚非罪在不赦、然亦不可復留於內地). Pih Yuen has reported to Us that P'ei Sih-fu afore-mentioned, and one Han Ta-jü 韓大儒 with some eighty members of the diagram Chen have been captured by him in Honan. We hereby decree that all the members of this sect after their trial shall be sent to Ushi, Kashgar, Yarkand and similar places, to be given as slaves to the Moslems there, and to be kept under severe control by the Governors of those regions. This will be a warning to everybody against joining any sect. Kwoh Tsun and his set shall also be punished in this manner, and the Governor Ming Hing shall strain every nerve to discover the remaining sectaries, but he shall not let his lictors and yamen-people involve innocent folk with false motives.

Those persecutions, into which the decrees at our disposal only allow us a peep, were undoubtedly both intensive and extensive enough to provoke among the religionists most bitter resentment against their oppressor, and to make him more than ever before an object of virulent abomination and hatred. Great must also have been the number of sectaries and non-sectaries who incurred imprisonment, flogging and torture in the rabid, merciless chase after the two main culprits Twan Wen-ch'ing en Sū Khoh-chen, vainly sought throughout the three provinces during no less than two years. From a decree of the 18th day of the ninth month (Oct. 16 or 17) 1788 we learn (*Sh. l.* 294), that until then the three Governors, together with their Lieutenant-Governors and Chief Judges were punished for this with a suspension of their salary (comp. page 143), but that both criminals having just then been captured, this suspension was cancelled. Also even after this, fresh persecutions, of which again we are told nothing, may have fanned the fire of fury at every slight abatement anew into flames, until some twenty-five years later the Diagram sects, lashed into despair, rose in open rebellion, stormed the Palace in Peking, and were butchered in myriads by the Imperial armies and executioners. Chapter XIV will give the narrative of those events.

The Heaven and Earth Society, and the Rebellion in Formosa.

As yet we have heard no word of a famous association, the name of which is familiar to those interested in Chinese matters, viz. the Tien-ti hwui 天地會, "Heaven and Earth society", or "society of the Universe". Professor Schlegel wrote a whole book on it¹. Stanton devoted a series of articles to it in vol. XXI of the China Review. And still other writers have dilated on it. This society was always confessedly of a political nature, with revolutionary objects, and none ever laid any emphasis upon its Buddhistic religious character, which nevertheless is plainly discernible in the legends of its origin and in various points of its symbolism, of which those authors tell us much. In this character it shows itself in the two following decrees, which thus strengthen our conviction that this Heaven and Earth community has to be ranked in the class of religious societies which the State persecutes for heresy, and which, on this account closely fraternizing for self-defence and mutual help, are naturally denounced by the State as hotbeds of mutiny and rebellion.

The first decree (*Sh. h.* 259), dated the 17th of the first month (13th Febr.) 1789, mentions a report of Fuh Khang-ngan, the conqueror of the Wahhabees (see p. 321), who in the eighth month of 1787 had been appointed Viceroy of Fuhkien and Cheh-kiang for the quenching of a serious rebellion that broke out in Formosa in the previous year. That report held that a certain Ch'en Piu 陳彪 had been arrested in Fuhkien, on the charge of being a member of the Heaven and Earth society, and that also a Buddhist priest had been imprisoned, called Hing-i 行義, whose secular name was Ching Ki 鄭繼, indicated as a leader and propagandist of that sect. The latter had mentioned another Buddhist priest as having been the religious teacher of his father T'i-hi 提喜, and also having imparted a knowledge of Sutras to himself, thus preparing him for the clerical profession; but these two men were still sought for in vain. Whenever, thus the emperor decrees, members of the society of Heaven and Earth have the audacity to come anywhere to propagate their religion (教) and poison and mislead the ignorant folk, most positively measures should be taken to catch, examine and sentence them for the purification of the roots and the stem. The Viceroy

¹ The Hung-league or Heaven-Earth-league.

shall try to discover the whereabouts of that T'i-hi, who certainly must be looked upon as the head of the society, unless the son, who pretended that he is dead, can point out his grave. And from other prisoners mentioned by name confessions shall also be extorted to find the way leading to further arrests.

The other edict, of the 20th of the third month (April 16) of the same year, mentions that T'u-sah-pu 圖薩布, the Canton Viceroy, had in custody one Ch'en P'ei 陳丕, from Chang-p'u 漳浦 in Fuhkien (see map page 342), who had been initiated into a Heaven and Earth community of which the missing priest T'i-hi was the teacher. Authorisation to strangle this Ch'en P'ei without respite is refused by the emperor, on the consideration that in subsequent prosecutions of members further examination of this delinquent might be needed. The Viceroy shall send him to Fuhkien, to be examined there along with Hing-i and Ch'en Piu, and thus to bring the authorities on the track of still more members of the fraternity; he can just as well be executed in this province, in due time and place.

A few passages in these edicts manifestly point to a close connection between these persecutions and an insurrection in Formosa, confessedly caused by the Heaven and Earth society and drenching that island with blood. The chief leader in this movement, one Lin Shwang-wen 林爽文, was a member of that sect. "He lived", thus Wei Yuen relates, "in Ta-li-yih, in Chang-hwa. "This is a steep and inaccessible country; his clan was mighty, "and consisted of daring, brutal people, wild and turbulent, always "uniting into gangs, careless and reckless. For many dozens "of years they had formed Heaven and Earth societies, which "Fuh-pi, the official in charge there, had not prosecuted, so that "the perverseness of those clubs had daily flamed up more and "more. Then the General Ch'ai Ta-ki equipped three hundred "soldiers, and with this escort sent Sun King-sui, the Prefect "of the department, and Yü Siün, the Prefect of the district of "Chang-hwa, to the spot, in company with Colonel Hoh Sheng-khoh "and Major Keng Shi-wen, in order to make arrests. They halted "and encamped at a high hill five miles distant, fettered the vil- "lager Khin Hien, and set fire to several guiltless hamlets, in order "to intimidate the party aimed at. But then Lin Shwang-wen "took advantage of the exasperation of the people, assembled "the crowd, and attacked the encamped troops under cover of "darkness, on which occasion the official Fuh-pi lost his life. Con- "sequently Chang-hwa was captured. These events occurred on the

"27th of the eleventh month in the 51st year of the Khien lung "period"¹ i. e. 17th January 1787. — All this put into our own words, would mean the same old story: soldiery, hunting after sectaries, swoop down upon peaceful rustics, with sword and torch; but these, knowing the persecutor and the fate awaiting them at his hands, grasp their arms in self-defence, and send him home with bleeding skull.

Consternation and despair seized the district, and great numbers of sectaries and their families flocked together for the defence of their hearths and homes. Ch'ai Ta-ki abandoned Chang-hwa, and retired into T'ai-wan 臺灣, the chief city of the island. Within ten days the district was overrun by rebels, who on the 6th of the twelfth month also captured Chu-lo 諸羅, killing the Prefect of this district. In Tan-shui 淡水, the most northerly district-city of the island, the Prefect was also slain; Fung-shan 鳳山, in the south, was conquered by the rebel Chwang Ta-t'ien 莊大田. The rapid success of the insurgents was partly owing to the circumstance that the Formosa cities in those days were unwallled, and merely surrounded by fences of living bamboo, no masonry being proof against the earthquakes frequently occurring in the island. T'ai-wan, likewise protected by a bamboo fence, was harried both from the north and the south, but successfully defended by Ch'ai Ta-ki. The access to the city was dominated by the Chu-yen-ch'ing 諸鹽埕 bridge, fifty li away, which Ch'ai Ta-ki occupied with great slaughter of rebels, more than a thousand of whom he killed.

In the first days of the new year re-inforcements arrived from the main land under the provincial naval commanders Hai Ch'ing-kung 海澄公 and Hwang Shi-kien 黃仕簡, and under the provincial General-in-chief Jen Ch'ing-ngen 任承恩. Chu-lo was soon retaken, and general Hoh Chwang-yiu 郝壯猷 re-occupied

¹ 林爽文者居彰化之大理杙。地險、族強、豪猾揮霍聚羣不逞之徒。結天地會數十年、將吏務爲覆蔽不之間、黨日橫熾。總兵柴大紀調兵三百、使知府孫景燧彰化知縣俞峻及副將赫生額游擊耿世文往捕。駐營五里外之大墩、勒村民禽獻、先焚無辜數小村恠之。爽文遂因民之怨集衆夜攻營軍、覆將吏死焉。彰化遂陷。時乾隆五十一年十一月二十七日也。 *Shing wu ki*, chap. 8, IV.

Fung-shan city, deserted by the rebels. He called back the population, but with these many insurgents swarmed in, surprised the town again on the 10th of the third month (Apr. 27), and drove Hoh Chwang-yiu back to T'ai-wan. In the north the insurrection was not so successful. In the Chang-hwa district the insurgent party mainly consisted of Fuhkienese from the Chang-cheu department, who frequently lived at rivalry with the colonists from the department of Ts'üen-cheu, likewise established there in great numbers. The latter generally refused to join the insurgents or pay them taxes; they even captured some officials appointed by Lin Shwang-wen, and openly supported the Imperialists, who, under Jen Ch'ing-ngen and Hwang Shi-kien, occupied the harbour of Luh-kiang 鹿港 (Lók-á-káng), at some forty li from Ta-li-yih, the birth-place of the rebellion. Thenceforth this port remained the main basis of operation for the military forces from Fuhkien, Chehkiang and Kwangtung, which poured into the island in overwhelming numbers to crush the rebellion.

In the first month, Shang Ts'ing 常青, the Viceroy of Fuhkien and Chehkiang, just then appointed to the same dignity in Hukwang, was directed by the emperor to take the supreme lead of the campaign in the rebellious island. Li Shi-yao, known to us as Viceroy of Shensi and Kansuh during the Wahhabee troubles, succeeded him in his viceregal dignity. This man might well be expected thoroughly to do the work of extermination of rebellious heresy. In the second month Shang Ts'ing shipped his troops to Formosa, but not until the fifth month was he ready for a campaign to the south. Then, at some ten li from T'ai-wan, his army was repulsed by the rebels, and without delivering battle, he retired, to wait for new re-inforcements from the main land. The rebels utilized this respite by forcing nearly all villages to join them, burning and pillaging those which refused, and inducing even the Ts'üen-cheu colonists to embrace their cause. While Chwang Ta-t'ien operated against T'ai-wan, Lin Shwang-wen attacked Chu-lo, but this place, the key of communication between north and south, held out by the strategy of Ch'ai Ta-ki, who thus actually saved T'ai-wan and the whole island for the dynasty. The emperor, informed of it, rewarded him with the third rank of nobility (伯), hereditary for ever, and with the honorary epithet 義勇, "Righteous and Brave". The name of the district which was the scene of his feats, he at the same time changed into Kia-i 嘉義, "Laudable Righteousness". In order to cut off supplies from T'ai-wan, the insurgents attacked Yen-shui harbour

(鹽水港) and Luh-kiang; but detachments from Ch'ai Ta-ki's troops kept them at bay, skirmishing with great success, and killing them by hundreds. Three times, however, the armies sent to the rescue by Shang Ts'ing, were repulsed with great losses, and divisions sent from T'ai-wan and Luh-kiang against the enemy lacked the courage to advance.

A total loss of the chief city and the whole island now being imminent, the emperor in the sixth month called Fuh Khang-ngan, the Viceroy of Shensi and Kansuh, to his palace in Jehol, in order to consult with him, and in the eighth month sent him to Formosa as his plenipotentiary. And Hai Lan-ch'ah, also known to us, was appointed to replace Heng Sui 恒瑞, the Manchu General-in-chief of Fuh-cheu, operating in Formosa. The emperor considered that, though nothing wrong could be laid to Shang Ch'ing's charge, yet his troops were checkmated in T'ai-wan, and proved incompetent to slaughter the rebels wholesale. Moreover, he was over seventy years old, and his energy thus on the wane¹. In the ninth month Fuh Khang-ngan was at Amoy, and the expedition was ready to start from this port, and from Han-kiang 蚶江, the outer-anchorage of Ts'üen-cheu. A large portion of the population of the island immediately sided with them, and on the 6th of the eleventh month the army marched from Luh-kiang to the relief of Chu-lo. After a series of battles and skirmishes, this place was occupied on the 8th, by Hai Lan-ch'ah². The rebel power now was soon dispersed and slaughtered. Already in the first month of the following year Lin Shwang-wen, who had committed his wife and children to the care of the savage natives, fell into the hands of the victor at a place called Lao-khü-khi 老衢崎, which feat brought new Imperial favours and rewards to Fuh Khang-ngan and Hai Lan-ch'ah, already highly rewarded with dignities and titles after the fall of Chu-lo³. And in less than a month Chwang Ta-t'ien was also captured alive, after a serious defeat inflicted on his troops⁴. All further resistance being now broken, the "cleansing-process", i. e. the butchering, could have free course in the Beautiful Isle.

It then fared ill with Ch'ai Ta-ki, the defender of T'ai-wan and Chu-lo. Under the charge of incapacity, cowardice and neglect of duty⁵,

1 Decree of the 2nd of the eighth month, *Sh. h.* 50.

2 Decree of the 14th of the twelfth month, *Sh. h.* 50.

3 Decree of the 1st of the second month 1788, *Sh. h.* 50.

4 Decree of the 27th of the second month, *Sh. h.* 50.

5 See decree of the 23rd of the first month, in *Sh. h.* 206.

he was sent by Fuh Khang-ngan to Peking, with a proposal that he should be put to death. A special tribunal of high officers, appointed by the emperor, condemned him, and after some reprieve he was decapitated. Hwang Shi-kien and Jen Ch'ing-ngen were also condemned to death, but were spared on account of their illustrious parentage and descent¹.

From the period of ensuing persecution and extermination date the two edicts given above, proving that the crusade against the Heaven and Earth society also raged on the mainland from which Formosa had received its Chinese population. Those documents of course lift only a corner of the veil which hides this bloody drama. Naturally, in the Chang-hwa district where the rebellion first broke out, the hunt for sectaries raged especially, decimating the poor remains of population which the horrors of war had spared. Still on the 7th of the second month (March 11), 1791, an Imperial decree appeared (*Sh. h.* 259), to tell that Khwei Lin-teng 奎林等, the new Viceroy of the two provinces, reported that rumours about the revival of the Heaven and Earth sect in the south of the said district, had entailed the arrest of thirty-six members. It was then discovered that they had rejoined under the lead of a certain Chang Piao 張標, a Chang-cheu man, more especially with the object of supporting and helping one another under the pressure of discord between the Chang-cheu and the Ts'üen-cheu colonists. This chieftain and twenty-seven of the members were beheaded as rebels; the other eight were banished to Heh-lung-kiang, in everlasting slavery. Thirteen more were sought for with zeal. In this same decree the emperor emphatically declared, "that after the extermination and

¹ *Shing wu ki*, chap. 8, IV.

A long eulogy in commemoration of the events in Formosa was written by the emperor himself, and, on his order, it was carved in Chinese and Manchu on stone tablets erected at Amoy and T'ai-wan city. It consists of three parts. The first is entitled 御製勦滅臺灣逆賊生擒林爽文紀事語, "Imperial Discourse on the events relating to the destruction of the Formosa rebels and the capture of Lin Shwang-wen". The second is called 御製福康安奏報生擒莊大田紀事語, "Imperial Discourse on the events concerning the capture of Chwang Ta-t'ien, reported by Fuh Khang-ngan". And the third is a 御製平定臺灣功臣像贊序 or "Imperial Eulogy on the portraits of the meritorious officers who pacified Formosa". Copies of these three documents in Chinese and Manchu were awarded by the emperor to Fuh Khang-ngan and Li Shi-yao, as marks of his special favour. Another commemorative inscription for a stone tablet in the temple of Confucius in Jehol was made by the emperor in the sixth month. The four documents are all reprinted in the *Shing hiun*, chap. 50.

"pacification of the rebels, rigorous searches had been made "for members of the sect, and measures taken against it" (自勦平逆匪後嚴行查禁), so that what these condemned men had now ventured to do, was a violation of the laws in the very highest degree. He amended the sentence in so far that the eight culprits condemned to banishment, "who had not yet formed a society" (未經結會), should be delivered up to the Board of Punishment in Peking, to be strangled, as it were to be feared that even in Manchuria they would give way to their rebellious spirit. And His Majesty furthermore prescribed that the fugitives should be diligently searched for, and sworn members of any fraternities in Formosa should be punished with an extra increase of severity.

In perusing the long series of *Shing hui* of the year 1791, we come across two edicts of special interest (chapt. 259). It was suddenly discovered, as we learn from them, that even in the New Frontier Province the banished sectaries secretly maintained their hierarchial organisation. In fact, in that country of exile the sectarian chiefs continued to exercise their religious functions; they did not even give up committing the crime of rebellion by distributing religious ranks and titles. The enormous distance proved of no use to disjoin them from their home and their faithful brethren of former days, and they kept up a secret correspondence with them by the medium of bold itinerant merchants, devoted brethren themselves, perhaps making trade a pretext to conceal those other aims.

In the district of Wei-nan in Shensi (map p. 313), thus we read in the first of those decrees, issued on the 13th of the seventh month (Aug. 11), one Liu Chao-khwei 劉昭魁 had been arrested under suspicion of theft and robbery, because he had returned home from distant parts with money, goods and horses. During his trial it came out that he was a member of the sect of the Eight Diagrams, that in the preceding year he had travelled from Shantung, via Khucha, Aksu and Yarkand, to Kashgar, and had there visited the exile Wang Tszë-chung 王子重, a sectarian leader (掌教) of the Chen diagram. This man had given him letters for his relations at home, besides some verbal messages, and on account of his great merits as regards their religion, he

had bestowed on him the title of "Man merged with the Tao, who opens the way and is of most perfect conduct, and who belongs to the Chen diagram assimilated with the East" (東震至行開路真人). He charged him to co-operate, upon his return to Shantung, with the children of Wang Lah-Yuen 王臘元, his brother's son, in the revival of their religion, and sent him to six exiled co-religionists at Yarkand, to promise them investment with titles. The emperor declares that that slave of the Moslems, Wang Tszě-chung, has thus rendered himself guilty of the greatest crime which exists; those other exiles in Yarkand, by applying to him for titles, have shown they do not even fear death; their offence is identical with rebellion, and therefore they deserve capital punishment. Ming Liang, the Governor (see p. 314), shall immediately arrest Wang Tszě-chung and extort from him the names of all his sectaries in the New Frontier Province, that these may be thoroughly examined, and thus no one have a chance of escape from the net. And this work of investigation finished, he shall send Wang Tszě-chung to Peking, and there he shall be subjected to examination with regard to his sectaries in the provinces, that these too may be punished with the uttermost rigour of the Law. Ming Liang shall thoroughly examine the six exiles and put them to death, for they doubtless were propagandists or leaders. And all those mentioned by them and by Wang Tszě-chung shall suffer the penalty of death. It is imperative, thus argues the emperor, to submit the exiled sectaries in general to a severer treatment, for, as has now been discovered, they do not cease promulgating their religion over there, and maintain its organization, notwithstanding their being committed as slaves to Moslems who do not, with them, believe in Buddha. — Mohammedans then proved themselves less fanatic, less cruel in their treatment of heretics than the Confucian lords of the land! — All the Governors (辦事大臣) in Sin-kiang shall therefore be ordered henceforth continuously to arrest and examine the exiles for such offences, and inflict on them the most severe punishments. The fact that Wang Tszě-chung was able to provide Liu Chao-khwei with goods and horses, proves sufficiently how well he was tended on all sides by his religionists. And such things happened before the eyes of the official world without their perceiving it! Let the Governors warn them that, if such things are allowed again to pass without prosecution, they will have to smart for it.

The second decree, of the 8th day of the following month, tells us that, according to information extorted from Liu Chao-khwei

at Peking, the Beg to whom Wang Tszě-chung was apportioned as a slave having died, the latter had since supported himself by carrying on a trade. The emperor reprimands Ming Liang for not having immediately given away that culprit to another Moham-medan master, thus allowing him to establish himself as a trader. His Majesty also orders a stricter control on the passports issued to travellers for those far-off dependencies.

Not one word do the decrees at our disposal tell us about the crusade, entailed by the above incident, against the Diagram-heretics at home. But in one of our copies of the Code we find, in the title on Rebellion and Serious Resistance (*supra*, p. 254), a decree of the second month of the next year, 1792, sanctioning some sentences pronounced by the Council of State, in co-operation with the Board of Punishments, against those sectaries. This high tribunal had found out that Liu Shu-fang 劉書芳 from Shantung, who on the occasion of a heresy persecution had been banished to Kwangsi, was there for some time the religious instructor of Liu Chao-khwei, and had sent him to Kwangtung, to visit one Pu Wen-pin 步文斌, exiled on the same occasion. Both these men had given him letters for their relations in Shantung, and after delivering these, he had travelled to the New Frontier Province, to take to Wang Tszě-chung a letter from his mother, and one from Pu Wen-pin. On his way he had visited several exiles, to confer titles upon them in return for financial support they had given to the sect. The bold traveller, caught in Wei-nan, had by Imperial command been sent up to Peking, and with Wang Tszě-chung he was there sentenced to be cut to pieces for rebellion and serious resistance. The six exiles in the New Frontier Province who had accepted titles from Wang Tszě-chung, and thirteen others who had received the same from Liu Chao-khwei, were, according to a report received from the Governor there, put to death. Liu Shu-fang and Pu Wen-pin were to be beheaded for promoting heresies by means of letters entrusted to Liu Chao-khwei. Four others who also received titles from Wang Tszě-chung and thus became guilty of propagation of heresies, and who gave monetary support to his family, were to be strangled, and forty-two exiles who gave Liu Chao-khwei letters to deliver, but received no titles, were to be exposed in the cangue perpetually, in their place of exile.

CHAPTER XII.

THE GREAT REBELLION IN THE WESTERN PROVINCES.

Thus far we have seen sufficient official evidence about religious corporations in China occasionally rising up in self-defence, provoked by the persecutions of the State. We have also read about their organizations under highly revered leaders, whose influence not seldom extended over several provinces. Doubtless these organizations, entailing vigorous co-operation, were to a high degree naturally fostered by that need for self-defence, always qualified by the State as rebellion. Against the religious heads in particular, the soul and spirit of such rebellion, the State turned all its wrath, as we have also frequently had occasion to notice. They were rebels of the blackest dye, to be punished with the severest of all penalties: slow death by the knives, with extermination of their families. At the same time we saw how the mandarinate were often admonished by the emperor above all things to use prudence in the persecution, for fear of provoking rebellion. This in itself shows that the sectaries were numerically strong. Doubtless — our last chapters have shown it — sects existed in every part of the empire, and it is more than likely that, although their religious notions and customs were more or less disparate, they held together in a close alliance forced upon them by the necessity of self-defence. The ensign uniting them all against the common enemy, the State, was that of the White Lotus.

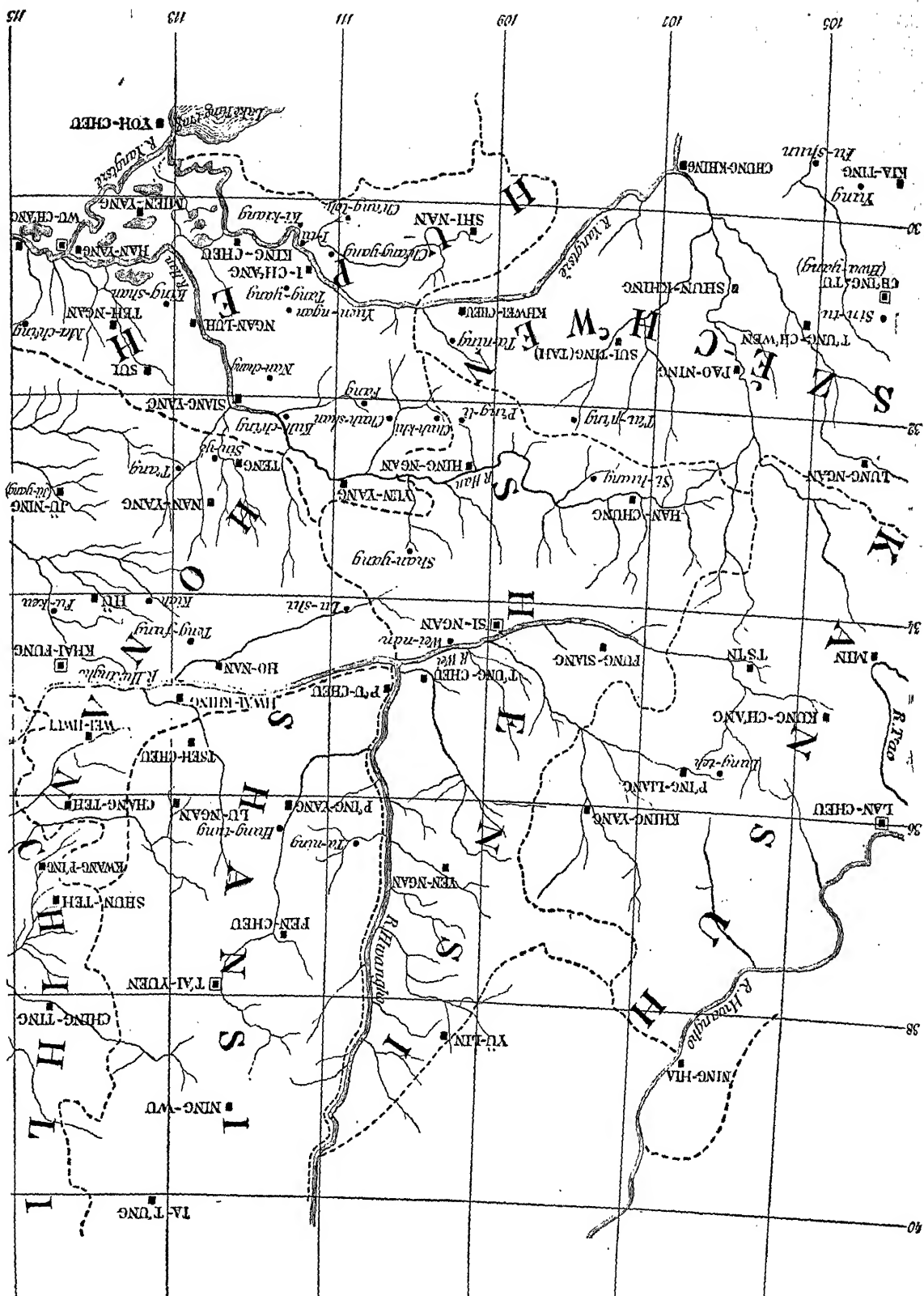
This state of matters shows itself most conspicuously in the frightful period of eight years which it is now for us to pass under review. In spite of Kao Tsung's persecutions, sectarianism had spread rapidly; no doubt the martyrs' blood, here as elsewhere, had been the seed of religion. The heretics, ever more conscious of their power through number and organization, probably had become by degrees less careful in hiding their meetings, thus exposing themselves to dangers more than was wise and prudent; for towards the end of Kao Tsung's reign we see the

mandarinate indulge in a heretic hunt on a peculiarly large scale, and the sects respond to it with open rebellion, a rebellion which for eight years braved the Imperial armies, and which it took all the exertions and energy of the Government to quench.

Fuh Khang-ngan, the grand man who subdued the Moslems in Kansuh, and the Heaven and Earth rebels in Formosa, here led the way. Towards the end of 1791 the emperor had charged him, as his Generalissimo, with the subjugation of the Ghurkas in Nepaul, who had invaded Ulterior Tibet or Tsang. This task he brought to a glorious issue in the following year. He penetrated far into Nepaul, and subjugated the native princes to his Imperial lord. Presently we find him installed as dictator in Szě-ch'wen, from where he could keep a watchful eye over that outlying new territory. To his old instincts as heresy-hunter he now gave free play, and from an Imperial decree of the 20th of the eighth month (14 Sept.), 1794, (*Sh. l.* 260) we learn the following on this head:

A certain Sié T'ien-siu 謝添繡 from Ta-ning 大寧 in western Shansi, together with a certain number of persons from the district of Chuh-khi 竹谿 in Hupeh¹, had obtained writings and religious formulas relating to Kwan-yin from one Ch'en Kin-yuh 陳金玉 and one Wang Chen-khwei 王占魁; they proceeded to establish a small community, several members of which were thereupon arrested. This Ch'en Kin-yuh, the religious teacher of Sié T'ien-siu, had proclaimed that Maitreya had come down to earth, and in Honan, in the Wu-ying 無影 mountains, had been born into the family Chang 張, in order to give his aid and support to a so-called Niu-pah 牛八, which characters were the components of the character 朱 Chu, the tribal name of one of the sectarian chiefs of that place. From the confessions squeezed from the captives, it appeared that there were large numbers of adherents of this sect in Honan and Shensi, and that in the former province eight members, each with a different tribal name, were at work under the title of "the eight Prophets for the Great Enterprise" (八大功祖); also that there existed three corporations there, denominated Lung-hwa societies. Fuh Khang-ngan further reported, that when Ch'en Kin-yuh had been arrested in Hupeh and was brought to Szě-ch'wen, to be delivered up to him, the escorting policemen on passing his frontiers were attacked in Khwei-cheu 夔州 by a crowd, who delivered him out of their

¹ See the sketch-map, page 352.



hands, belaboured them soundly, and even killed one of them.

This heretical religion, the emperor declares, having ramified from Honan in all directions, must necessarily be prosecuted. Most rigorous searches, arrests, and measures for extermination shall directly be set on foot, especially in the district of Teng-fung 登封 in the Ho-nan department, where that Wu-ying mountain lies. This business is entrusted to Fuh Ning, just then appointed Governor of Honan. The members of the Chang tribe shall be arrested, together with the Maitreya born among them, as also that Niu-pah, probably named Chu Hung-t'ao 朱紅桃, those eight prophets, and the three Lung-hwa societies. Similar measures shall be taken with regard to the sectaries in Hupeh by the Viceroy Pih Yuen, whom we know so well. And especially the men guilty of the attack on the escort shall be hunted up, captured and punished, and the ramifications of the sect in Szě-ch'wen shall be traced and exterminated.

This Chu Hung-t'ao, whose family name was the same as that of the Imperial house dethroned by the now reigning dynasty some 150 years ago, though the name may have been borne by several myriads in the empire, was in the eyes of the Government nothing more or less than a pretender, a rebel intending to take possession of the throne by means of a revolution now being prepared as "the Great Enterprise" by eight prophets, and supported by none other than the redeeming Messiah of Buddhism, appeared in flesh. We saw (page 164) something of the same sort exhibited by the White Lotus sect in the fourteenth century, and the matter had then largely contributed to the downfall of the Yuen dynasty, or may have been the cause of it. Perhaps the apprehensions of the Government were sound and well-founded, but just as likely, the whole affair may have been unreal, a web of inventions extorted from prisoners with the instruments of torture. The truth probably never will be known. To the Chinese mandarins, to whom verisimilitude is always verity, and who preferably believe confessions which confirm their own preconceived suspicions, there were reasons enough and to spare to resort to most cruel persecution of the sects. And so a storm of persecution broke out over no less than three provinces: Szě-ch'wen, Hupeh, and Honan.

On the 8th day of the tenth month (31 Oct.) a decree announces that Fuh Ning had already examined 120 prisoners, and had thus found out that the writings of the sects dated back to the fourth

year of the Ching teh period of the Ming dynasty (1509). He had not been able clearly to fathom the Niu-pah mystery, but as early as 1757 and 1768 this appellative had come to the foreground during religious persecutions in Honan and Kweichou, and a certain patriarch Niu (牛祖) had then been a prominent figure. If we take into consideration that Niu is a common tribal name, we clearly see the loose ground on which the rumours about the existence of a "rival-emperor" had grown up.

The rage of persecution also passed over to Shensi and Kansuh, where Leh Pao, known to us as the persecutor of the Ts'iao-ts'iao sect and the Moslems, still swayed the rod of government. In Lung-teh 隆德, a district belonging to the department of P'ing-liang 平凉 (see map), the last-named decree informs us that one Liu Sung 劉松 had been arrested, who had been banished thither in 1775 from Hupeh for heresy, and that the authorities had found in his bedroom two thousand taels of silver, which, as the examinations revealed, had been delivered to him between the years 1789 and 1793 on six different occasions by his former disciple Liu Chi-hieh 劉之協, a native of the district of T'ai-hwo 太和 in Nganhwui (see p. 298), and by the latter's disciple Sung Chi-ts'ing 宋之清, who had collected these moneys from sectaries in Nganhwui. Previously to this, Liu Sung had been betrayed by one of the prisoners as being the head of the "religion of the Old one" (老教), probably the sect of Lo Hwai, the "Old Patriarch". Sung Chi-ts'ing had then been rigorously examined four times by Fuh Ning, at Siang-yang 襄陽 in Hupeh, but no reliable information had been tortured out of him regarding those two other persons. The emperor decrees that he, as head of the sect, shall be most severely sentenced, and thus made a public example. And Liu Sung, who notwithstanding his exile still had intercourse with his adherents, can no longer be suffered to remain in the country. The four or five hundred captives involved in this lawsuit in various provinces, shall not all be put to death; but those who were simply sectaries without anything more, as also those who are to be punished because they are family-relations of chief culprits, shall be exiled to Heh-lung-kiang, and be given as slaves to the Solon Tartars. But with a view to an eventual rising of the people, they shall, for safety's sake, be sent thither in small detachments. And in Liu Sung's place of exile strict investigation shall be made whether he has promulgated his religion there and made proselytes, in which case

persecution and extermination will have to be resorted to with great severity; and he, together with his son Liu Szě-'rh 劉四兒, shall be sent up to Siang-yang, to be used by Fuh Ning in his further search for sectaries. In Nganhwui, from where Liu Chi-hieh came and where so much money could be collected for him, a large faction of his heresy must exist; strict search and persecution shall be instituted there also. And a special hunt shall be made for Liu Chi-hieh, and when found, he shall be sent to Siang-yang, and delivered up to Fuh Ning.

So far the information given in the *Shing hün* collection as to the direct causes of the rebellion. Siang-yang then was the centre of the sanguinary work, and Fuh Ning, the former Chief Judge of the Mohammedan rebels in Kansuh (see p. 315), the Imperial Chief Inquisitor; we shall not be surprised then presently to see that the flames of rebellion first broke forth from these very headquarters of official massacre. And thus, Kao Tsung crowned the great work of persecution, so zealously pursued throughout his reign, by an act of which no less than six provinces were to reap the purifying fruits! Therewith he achieved one of the chief objects of his life, a task the fulfilment of which he had pursued in a way which, to use his own words, even Confucius could not have improved upon (p. 302). He abdicated in the following year in favour of his son Jen Tsung 仁宗, and then lived till 1799, the third day of the Chinese year (7 Febr.). The successor would then have to finish the father's horrible work to its full extent. He would have to send forth his military hordes to devastate and partly murder out those unfortunate provinces, soaking the soil in human blood; he would have to empty his treasuries to the very bottom, and — to pass his days to the last in constant fear and trembling of those dangerous religions. Against these he would, as a natural consequence, rage with measures characterizing him, if possible, as a still more bloody prince than his father had been.

The Imperial decrees and documents unanimously attribute the outbreak of the rebellion to the heresy-crusades; but far from them to cast blame upon the crusaders! For are not the persecutions the defences of the Confucian-State and its political and ethical constitution, and therefore as natural, necessary and sacred as this constitution itself? Heresy, which provokes persecution, is alone to blame for the streams of blood the persecutors shed, for the converting of thriving, populous provinces into deserts; threefold blame to heresy for the abominable crime that in those

terrible times it stood in arms against the ruling powers who attacked it! We know these arguments.

In the last year of Kao Tsung's reign, thus Wei Yuen writes in the preamble of his description of this religious insurrection, the dynasty was at the apogee of its glory. A larger number of foreign regions had been subjected than during the Khang hi period, and nowhere had the peace been disturbed, except by the Miao-tszë in Kweichu and Hunan. But in the next year (1796) the rebellion of sectaries broke out in Hupeh and Szë-ch'wen, and spread over Honan, Shensi and Kansuh. At that time a comet appeared in the west, with a tail several fathoms in length; the year passed away before it disappeared, and lo, the struggle of the Government armies in the five provinces became long, and lasted into the seventh year, after which it took them two more years effectually to clear the country of the remainders of the rebels. Over ten thousand times a myriad of goldpieces were spent on victuals for the armies, a larger amount than had been spent upon the conquest of Ili and Kin-ch'wen major and minor¹.

"Members of the White Lotus religion, people hostile to the Government, professed to bring relief of disease and to abstain from forbidden food, and also they pretended to make sacred writings and incantations. With all this they misled the crowd, but gathered wealth for themselves; and Liu Sung from Ngan-hwui placed himself at their head. In the 40th year of the K'chien lung period (1775) this man was arrested on the discovery of a heretical sect at Luh-yih in Honan², and exiled to Kansuh, but he charged two members of his crew, Liu Chi-hieh and Sung Chi-ts'ing, with the further promulgation of that religion and the enlisting of disciples. Their faction having gradually increased everywhere in Szë-ch'wen, Shensi and Hupeh, they conspired to disturb the peace. A critical turn in the kalpa, so the leaders taught, was about to come; and they took a fellow sectary, a son of the Wang tribe in Luh-yih, called Fah-sheng, and declared him to be a member of the Chu tribe

1 The land of Kin-ch'wen 金川 or the Gold-riverland is the Tibetan frontier country of Yunnan and Szë-ch'wen. In 1747 expeditions against it were undertaken under Chang Kwang-szë (see p. 279), appointed as Viceroy of these two provinces for that purpose; they terminated its subjugation in 1749. In 1771 a rebellion broke out there, which necessitated fresh campaigns, opened in the spring of the following year under the command of the famous O Kwei, the hero of the Mohammedan war in Kansuh; but they were not brought to a satisfactory issue until 1776.

2 See the sketch-map on page 298.

"and a descendant of the Ming-dynasty; and in this way they "fanned the agitation among the unsteady populace ¹.

"But in the 58th year of the Khien lung period (1793) "the matter got wind. Again arrestations were performed, and "each culprit underwent his punishment; but on account of his "tender age Wang Fah-sheng was exempted from the penalty of "death, and exiled to the New Frontier Province. Liu Chi-hieh "escaped; he was traced that same year in Fu-keu (in Honan), "but not caught. Then followed Imperial orders for the institution "of searches for him on a large scale in the departments and "districts. The authorities executed these in a wrong way; they "ransacked every house, and the policemen and lictors availed "themselves of this opportunity to commit cruel iniquities; and "Shang Tan-khwei, Prefect of Wu-ch'ang, as soon as he received "the proclamations, caught many thousands in the nets; the same "happened in King-cheu and in I-ch'ang. The wealthy who were "ruined (by extortion), and the poor who incurred death, could not be "numbered. At that time the people in Szě-ch'wen, Hunan, Kwang-tung, Kwangsi, and Kweichu rose, the army being exhausted "with fighting against the Miao-tszě. And the rigorous prohibitions "against the private fabrication of salt and cast metal goods "having deprived many indigent people of their livelihood, now "increased the hatred against the mandarins. People harbouring "rebellious thoughts utilized this state of affairs to fan the fire "of deception. Then the catastroph broke out in King-cheu and "Siang-yang, as also in the department of Tah (Sui-ting, in "Szě-ch'wen); it rapidly spread over Shensi, and — the rebellion "raged ².

1 白蓮教者奸民假治病持齋爲名、偽造經咒。惑衆斂財、而安徽劉松爲之首。乾隆四十年劉松以河南鹿邑邪教事發被擒遣戍甘肅、復分遣其黨劉之協宋之清授教傳徒。徧川陝湖北日久黨益衆、遂謀不靖。倡言劫運將至。以同教鹿邑王氏子、曰發生者、說明裔朱姓、以煽動流俗。

2 乾隆五十八年事覺。復捕獲、各伏辜。王發生以童幼免死、戍新疆。惟劉之協遠颺、是年復跡於河南之扶溝、不獲。於是有旨大索州縣。吏奉行不善、逐戶搜緝、胥役乘虐、而武昌府同知常丹葵奉檄、荊州宜昌株連羅織數千人。富破家、

"In the first month (of 1796), in Ki-kiang and I-tu, belonging "to the King-cheu department in Hupeh, Nieh Kieh-jen, Chang-Ching-mu and others rose in rebellion. The districts of Ch'ang-loh and Ch'ang-yang, in I-ch'ang, joined them. In the second "month the rebels in Tung-hu, Tang-yang and Yuen-ngan also "rose, and Lin Chi-hwa took (the city of) Tang-yang".....'

According to a decree of the 3rd day of the third month (April 11) 1796 (*Sh. h.* 17), the whole western half of Hupeh containing the departments Siang-yang, King-cheu, Yun-yang 鄖陽, and I-ch'ang 宜昌, was then in full rebellion, and Pih Yuen, the Viceroy, had sent thither about ten thousand Manchu and Chinese troops, drawn from his own provinces and from Honan and Shensi. How these forces raged, may be gathered to some extent from an Imperial decree of the 23rd day of the following month (30th May), in which we find also explicitly stated that the sectaries had the upper hand in the insurrection: "By order of the Very "Highest Emperor (the abdicated Emperor) We give this decree "to Our Chancery. The rebellious people of Hupeh swarm together "and disturb the peace; for, after having used their heretical "religion as means and pretence to fan the fire of seduction and "to unite together, they now give themselves to incendiarism and "pillage, in order to force the people, half unwilling to rebel, "to side with them. With a view to this state of matters, We "already have issued decrees ordering the Generals leading Our "armies thither, as also the Viceroy and the Provincial Governor, "to issue proclamations, to the effect that they who timely desert "the rebel forces shall altogether be exempt from punishment. "We now take into due consideration that fighting and slaughter "are doing their work everywhere; that the insurgents are "astir by thousands, and that they and their partisans do not "decrease; but in spite of all this, there are feelings in Our heart "which cannot tolerate that those who have joined the rebels, "or are on good terms with them, should altogether be put to

貧陷死無算。時川湖粵貴民方以苗事困軍興。無賴之徒亦以嚴禁私鹽私鑄失業、至是益讐官。思亂奸民乘機煽惑。於是發難於荆襄達州、駸淫於陝西、而亂作也。

¹ 正月湖北荊州之枝江宜都則有聶傑人張正謨等賊起。宜昌之長樂長陽應之。二月東湖當陽遠安賊起、而林之華陷當陽。 *Shing wu ki*, chap. 9.

"death wherever Our armies arrive. Those Generals, Viceroy and
 "Governors shall therefore to the ultimate end, by means of procla-
 "mations, publish everywhere Our will that all those who made
 "common cause with the insurgents or joined them — whether
 "or not they became rebels by being compelled by the insurgents
 "to side with them, or by listening to instigation and misleading —
 "shall be left unpunished if they desert them; while, similarly,
 "they who hitherto, for knowing no better, professed a heretical
 "religion, but timely coming to their senses abandon that religion
 "of their own free will, shall also altogether be exempt from the
 "pain of death. And if any insurgent has a chance of beheading
 "or capturing a leader of the rebels, and delivers up his head
 "or the man, he shall not only be exempt from prosecution for
 "having joined the rebels, but over and above be richly rewarded.
 "By all such measures I hope to realize, in the midst of chas-
 "tisement and slaughter, the benefits bestowed by the love which
 "Supreme Heaven cherishes for all that lives"¹.

It deserves our notice that the emperor thus promises ordinary rebels a total pardon, but grants to the sectaries no more than exemption from the penalty of death. Evidently, in his august eye, Sectarianism was worse than rebellion, that is to say, the virtual cause of it, its soul and spirit, the demon of revolt himself. Identification of insurrection with heresy is, indeed, constantly sustained throughout the edicts. These usually denote the rebels by the terms *kiao fei* 教匪 and *sié fei* 邪匪, "sectarian or heretical rebels".

¹ 太上皇帝敕諭內閣。湖北奸民聚眾滋事、祇係藉邪教爲名煽誘糾結、又兼焚搶逼脅非盡甘心從逆。是以前降諭旨令帶兵之將軍督撫等出示曉諭、如有能及早投出者概予免罪。今念各路剿殺、賊匪動有數千爲數、已屬不少、而大兵所到其脅從附和之徒皆當悉就刑誅、於心實有所不忍。著該將軍督撫等竟當宣布朕旨徧行示諭、凡賊人黨與、無論被賊迫脅煽惑聽從爲逆者、一經投出、均當免其治罪、卽素日誤習邪教之人、若能及早省悟、自行投出、亦概與免死。倘有能將賊首賊目斬獲擒獻者、不但不治以從賊之罪、並當優加獎賞。此皆朕仰體上天好生之德於懲創之中。 *Shing hiun* of Kao Tsung, 51.

Notwithstanding the specious Imperial promises of mercy, grace and pardon, sagely combined with awe-inspiring slaughter on an enormous scale, the revolt continued to spread rapidly. According to a decree of the 9th of the fourth month (16th May), King Ngan 景安, the Governor of Honan, reported to the Emperor that it had passed over to his province, and was raging in the Teng 鄧 and Sin-yé 新野 region, bordering on Siang-yang, and that his forces were too weak to make head against it (*Sh. h.* 17). In the tenth month (*ibid.*), Ying 英善, the Viceroy of Szē-ch'wen, had to send the Job's message that Tah 達, a department of that province, bordering on Hupeh, had been roused into open rebellion by over a thousand sectaries. Simultaneously the insurrection moved to Shensi province, and threatened its capital Si-ngan. About the middle of 1797 it raged especially in the districts along the Yangtszē in north-eastern Szē-ch'wen, and, as appears from the decrees, the insurgents then had again invaded west Hupeh, which their armies had left for a time. However much it revolts against Our humane feelings, thus His Majesty repeatedly decrees -- all they who make common cause with the rebels or join them, must be put to death, and only those who pass over to the Imperial armies shall be spared. We may imagine the state of things and the fate of the people in the districts where these armies raged!

Chief commander of the insurgents was one Yao Chi-fu 姚之富, and also a woman born of the Wang 王 tribe, wife of one Ts'i Lin 齊林, and hence mostly called Ts'i Wang. However strange it seems to read of Chinese Amazons, the decrees compel us this time to believe in their reality; their presence among the rebels surely proves that the holy war against the arch-persecutor was being waged with a high spirit of self-sacrifice, extreme exasperation, despair, and scorn of death. Amongst the chief commanders of the Imperialists we find our two acquaintances Ming Liang and Fuh Ning. The insurrection gained strength through the fact that the Miao-tszē had risen in rebellion and kept fully engaged the military forces in Kweichu, Hunan, and Kwangsi; but in the autumn of 1797 they were subdued, and more troops could now be opposed to the religious insurgents. At the same time fresh Manchu hordes from Kirin were sent to the scene of war, to help in the performance of the work of "purification", a nice expression in common use with the Chinese Government to denote slaughter and extermination. Leh Pao, till then Viceroy of Kweichu and Yunnan, was now made Viceroy of Hukwang, and at

the same time commander-in-chief of the military forces in Szě-ch'wen. We know he had earned his spurs as persecutor long ago; we may be sure he acquitted himself of his new and grander task with no less energy and devotion. Wei Yuen in the *Shing wu ki* describes the campaign and carnage of that year with great diffusiveness; over and over again he mentions butchering of rebels by thousands. They had four armies in the field, and naturally the Imperialists sustained many defeats. But they too suffered great losses. We read *e. g.* that in the sixth month Sun Shi-fung was defeated and slain, "the head of sects in Szě-ch'wen, of whom Wang San-hwai and other commanders all were the pupils" (孫士鳳者四川教首、王三槐等皆其徒也).

In the beginning of 1798 Ming Liang had to inform the Throne of the fact that the rebel Kao Kiün-teh 高均德 had invaded Han-chung 漢中, the south-western department of Shensi. Female rebels on horseback (騎馬女賊) accompanied him thither, many hundreds strong, presumably forming part of the army of the woman Ts'i Wang (*Sh. h.* 17). The south-east of Shensi, as Wei Yuen explains, was also overrun by the troops of that Amazon and of Yao Chi-fu; but they sustained there a grievous defeat in the district of Shan-yang 山陽, against Ming Liang and his fellow-commander Teh Leng-t'ai 德楞泰. This discomfiture was followed by several others in which the two insurgent chiefs lost their lives. Nevertheless Kao Kiün-teh held out in Shensi, although, according to official reports, he too was frequently worsted with slaughter of his people by thousands. In Szě-ch'wen the rebels also stood their ground, especially under Wang San-hwai and Ling Tien-luh 冷天祿. They were divided there in a so-called white, a yellow, a light blue, and a deep blue army. They more and more concentrated in this province, and in the seventh month a decree informs us (*Sh. h.* 17) that their forces for the greater part were operating there. In that month Wang San-hwai surrendered to I Mien 宜縣, the Viceroy of Shensi and Kansuh, and was sent up to Peking.

As stated, the abdicated emperor breathed his last on the third day of the following year, 1799. Consequent on this event, Jen Tsung issued a decree to his Generals, Viceroys and Governors in the revolted provinces. He points out how his father, whenever rebellions arose like that of Wang Lun, or of the Moslems in Kansuh, was wont to crush them with overwhelming military power in a comparatively short time, and that he was worried

much by the present insurrection remaining so long unsubdued; and that which annoys a father, his son's filial, affectionate heart cannot possibly brook. "Each day", thus the emperor complains, "that passes by without seeing these sectarian rebels pacified, burdens me with reproach for unfilial conduct during a whole day" (若教匪一日不平、朕卽一日負不孝之疚). The decree therefore urges every man to do his utmost in "annihilating the rebels" (滅賊)¹ — a broad hint to murder and destroy at random, and spare nothing and nobody!

Yet shortly after, a new decree appears, purporting to promote the close of the revolt by a show of clemency. "At the commencement of the rebellion of the sectaries", thus writes Wei Yuen, "the authorities were generally accused of forcing the people to rebel, and Wang San-hwai, when he was brought a prisoner to Peking and the emperor had him examined by the Council of State, had made a similar statement. When the emperor heard this, he was displeased, and decreed that the executions should be delayed for a while"². In that decree he states that the sectarian rebels forced the people to join them, and, whenever it came to a collision with the Imperial troops, placed these poor men in the front, after cutting off their cues, in proof that they had cast off the allegiance with the Manchu dynasty, and after imprinting on their faces the three characters denoting the White Lotus religion. To desert to the Imperialists was thus equivalent for them to throwing themselves alive into the jaws of death. Such scandalous proceeding also arouses His Majesty's indignation. Such people, when they run over to our side, thus he ordains, shall no longer be put to death, as this can only be to the interest of the rebels. A decree of the ninth day of the tenth month (6 Nov.) contains a renewal of these orders (*Sh. h.* 18).

According to a decree of the 13th of the first month (18 Febr.) 1799 (*Sh. h.* 18), two insurgent chiefs, called Jen Wen-ch'eu 冉文儔 and Lo Khi-ts'ing 羅其清, had then fallen into the hands of the Imperialists — state-enemies of so great significance that the emperor, gratefully looking up to Highest Heaven and the manes of his departed father to whom he owed this good fortune, commanded that the head of the former should be exhibited

¹ *Shing wu ki*, chap. 9, IV.

² 初教匪起事皆以官逼民反爲詞、及王三槐擒解至京、命軍機大臣審訊、亦有此供。上聞之惻然、命暫緩行刑。 *Shing wu ki*

successively in all the places which his bands had plunged into woe, for the comfort of the loyal and as a warning to traitors and rioters. He ordered besides that Jen Wen-ch'eu's son should be cut to pieces, and he blazoned about that now the fortunes of war had decidedly turned in favour of his armies. But, in spite of these cries of triumph, real success seems to have as yet been slight. For by decree of the 14th of the second month (19 March) the nation was informed that the rebels from Shensi had actually tried to invade Kansuh, but with little success, while at the same time in Szē-ch'wen they stood their ground, although — always according to official reports — they sustained there several bloody defeats. From his high throne the Son of Heaven over and again commanded "on no account to neglect to butcher those heretic rebels" (邪匪不可不誅). One of their principal leaders in Szē-ch'wen was, besides Ling T'ien-luh already mentioned, one Sū T'ien-teh 徐天(添)德. Again for this year we cannot tire our readers with a dry sketch of the warfare and an enumeration of the battles lost and won. Suffice it to state, that the inability of the Imperial generals to master the rebellion was manifest from the fact that several of them incurred disgrace and were deposed from their dignities. Such was the case with Ming Liang; he was replaced by Na Yen-ch'ing 那彥成, of whom we shall much hear afterwards.

In Shensi the rebels sustained a serious loss: in foggy weather they were surprised by Teh Leng-t'ai, who captured their chief commander Kao Kiün-teh (*Shing wu ki*). This man, as we have seen, played a conspicuous part in the revolt. So, to enhance the glory of the Imperial armies, he was sent up to Peking, as had been done with Wang San-hwai, Lo Khi-ts'ing, and many other captives of importance, to be examined and tried by the Council of State and the Board of Punishment, or even by the emperor in person, and to be cut to pieces in honour of the dynasty. Among the *Shing hün* we find a remarkable decree regarding that Kao Kiün-teh, dated the 15th of the twelfth month (10 Jan. 1800), of the following tenor:

"The emperor decrees as follows to the Chancery: — The Expectant prefect Na Ying yesterday arrived in Peking, to deliver two "sectarian rebel chiefs, Kao Kiün-teh and Kao Ch'ing-kieh. He "reports that the former was seized on the journey with such "fear that he refused to eat or drink. Then the Prefect befooled "him, telling him that, on his arrival in the capital, he could sue "for pardon, and would then be set at liberty and sent back to

"Szë-ch'wen and Shensi, to take part in the fighting on the side of the Imperial troops. This prospect cheered him again, and along the route at every halt and station he asked people for money, and thus collected more than five hundred taels of silver. His small change he distributed amongst the men who carried him, and the remainder he promised to lay up for the maintenance of the troops as soon as he, after his release, should have returned to their camps.

"The fact that this Kao Kiün-teh, deserving the severest punishment which is set on rebellion, immediately pinned his implicit faith to this make-belief of the mandarin escorting him, without having the slightest doubt as to its verity, surely proves that ignorance and stupidity had reached the climax in him. It was that Prefect's duty to see that he did not die of hunger, and there was nothing unsuitable in the fact that money was given him; but that this man did not at all understand that he positively had deserved death by his crime, prompts us to declare that even the lowest stupidity was not banished out of him. And this leads Us to think that the reason why the ignorant lower class people bring upon themselves prosecutions on account of flocking together for conspiracy and revolt, is that they do not know the laws; and this ignorance is a consequence of the inability of the Prefects to improve and guide them in ordinary times of peace"¹. Then follows the command that on all days of the new moon and of the full moon those officers shall have

¹ 上諭內閣、昨候補知府那英押解教匪首逆高均德及高成傑到京。據稱高均德在途心懷畏懼、不肯飲食。經伊等用言哄誘、告以到京必可邀恩釋放、仍令回至川陝、隨同官兵打仗。高均德聞而欣喜、並於沿途驛站索銀、積至五百餘兩。零星給與擡夫、並稱存積銀兩擬於釋回赴軍營時作爲犒需、等語。

高均德身犯大逆重罪、一聞解官哄誘之言即深信不疑、冥頑已極。在地方官慮其不食餓斃干係處分、給與銀兩尙無不合、但高均德竟不知所犯係必死之罪、亦可謂下愚不移矣。因思愚賤之民敢於聚衆謀逆罪由自取而揆其罔知法度之由、則係地方官平日不能化導所致。 Chap. 7.

to read to the people the Sage Edict, that wonderful universal remedy against heresy and rebellion.

To be sure, we all fully share the emperor's astonishment at this childish simplicity of a rebel believing in mercy and grace from Confucian tyrants! And such a simpleton stood for some years at the head of undisciplined farmers and townspeople who checkmated celebrated generals and their overpowering legions collected from Canton to Tibet, from Kirin and Heh-lung-kiang to Kashgar! Perhaps the frightful prospect of the fate awaiting him had turned him silly, but this trifle was of course overlooked by the august author of that decree, whose Confucianly schooled mind forthwith settled upon his grandfather's Sage Edict, which had this time missed its magical effect in preventing rebellion, having, alas, not often enough been read aloud in public! May we go so far as to see in this episode a trick played by the Generals upon their Imperial master? Did they present him with an idiot picked up somewhere, with a straw man instead of the real Kao Kiün-teh? With interest we hear of the liberal support tendered to this wretch on his way to doom. May we infer from it that the sectaries had on the highroads an organized system of helping and comforting their brethren in need? Or were they simply living there in great numbers, as in all parts of the empire?

The year 1800 opened auspiciously for the Imperial armies. In the second month the insurgents sustained a series of momentous defeats through the strategy of Teh Leng-t'ai, mainly in the south of the department Lung-ngan 龍安, which shows that they stood in Szě-ch'wen no less than eight degrees west of the region where the rebellion broke out. Simultaneously, Na Yen-ch'ing cut off the way to the south to the rebels operating in Kansuh, which had the good effect that their divisions in Szě-ch'wen were confined in the northern districts of this province, and in the adjacent parts of Hupeh and Shensi. This greatly facilitated their being attacked and gradually destroyed by Leh Pao, the high Commander in Szě-ch'wen. The emperor thus seeing the end of the war draw near, forthwith journeyed to the mausolea of his father and grandfather, there to announce the happy news and offer thanksgiving to their manes¹.

It seems quite natural that, while the endless war thus raged, the persecution of the sects for the maintenance of peace was carried on by the authorities with unrelenting diligence in the

¹ See the decree of the 10th of the third month, in the *Shing hiun*, 18.

districts where as yet no rebels had made their appearance. The mandarins in this evidently proceeded so extravagantly, that the emperor deemed it necessary to interfere, lest matters might go from bad to worse. It has been proved, he wrote in an edict of the 6th of the fifth month (June 26), inserted in the 18th chapter of the *Shing hün*, that the Prefects in their searches for heretics and in their persecutions generally allow themselves to be guided by hearsay and gossip from the street, so that even simple worshippers of Buddha, and people merely believing in persons possessed by spirits, are pointed out and persecuted as sectaries. Proclamations shall be posted up everywhere, to inform the people "that they who by mistake became sectaries shall, as soon as they entirely change their minds and repent, be considered as loyal subjects, and not be punished at all for what they did before"¹. No orders then to suspend, even for own safety's sake, this rebellion-breeding persecution? No, the Confucian state-principle shall be maintained tooth and nail! Only not every heretic shall be slashed with the knives or otherwise punished as a thorough rebel: the renegades must be spared.

The organization of the insurgents remained broken. They were driven into Kansuh as far as Min 岷 and Ts'in 秦, and for months together their scattered divisions were hunted after in the three provinces by Teh Leng-t'ai and Na Yen-ch'ing, sustained by Khoh-leh-ting-pao 額勒登保, who from the outset had also been in the field against them. They were slaughtered by myriads. It was a pacification in the true Chinese sense: a destruction of human life on the largest scale imaginable. Consequent on this change in the state of matters, Liu Chi-hieh, the sectarian leader already chased during the great persecution which caused the rebellion to break out (see p. 355), fell into the hands of his pursuers. According to a decree of the 15th of the eighth month (3rd Oct.) he was captured in Honan, sent up to Peking, and examined for several days by the Council of State and the Board of Punishments. Of course he suffered the lingering death by the knives. This severest of all punishments, the emperor proclaimed in this same decree (*Sh. h. 98*), was not at all inflicted upon him in his capacity of general leader of the White Lotus Sect; no, by no means; but, besides the crime of raising money for his enterprises, he had committed other damnable things. Realizing

¹ 有誤入邪教者一經改悔、即爲良民、決不罪其既往。

that the simple levying of contributions would not enable him speedily enough to execute his rebellious designs, he had bribed a certain Wang Siang-hi 王雙喜 to pass for a Niu-pah, and had set up this person for a descendant of the Chu family (see p. 351 and foll.); moreover, he had prevailed upon Liu Szě-rh, the son of Liu Sung (p. 355), to play the part of an incarnated Maitreya who was to support that Niu-pah in his endeavours to make the people rise. If these confessions, extorted by means of the instruments of torture from an old man doomed to die, give the truth, then for sure the Lotus religion was a hotbed of conspiracy, with a pretender or rival emperor ready at hand. But can we on this ground take that sect for a merely political confederacy with revolutionary designs? Certainly not; besides, the same Imperial decree itself forbids it. Indeed, after having declared pathetically that, whereas his holy ancestry had so largely bestowed benevolence upon the material bodies of mankind, it truly was a crime of the most abominable kind for this Liu Chi-hieh to come out with a pseudo-descendant of the previous dynasty, therewith to enflame the ignorant people — the Son of Heaven continues in the following words:

“When (in 1794, see p. 354) Liu Sung and Sung Chi-ts'ing were “arrested, and their prosecution was opened, Liu Chi-hieh, on “hearing this in Fu-keu, took to flight. Our deceased Imperial “Father then repeatedly issued severe orders to every province to “seek and arrest him, for as Liu Chi-hieh belonged to the worst “of rebellion-brewers, it was of the utmost necessity to catch “him as soon as possible. So, at the outset, all this did by no “means occur because he had propagated the White Lotus religion. “Then the Prefects in the various provinces missed the capacity “to realize the wise ideas and intentions of my departed Father; “the search after heretical sects and the arrests were made pretexts “to ransack the country in all directions, and the Yamen people “and police were left a free hand to extort and vex all around “in every way they pleased. They did no more distinguish between “sectaries and non-sectaries, but only between people who gave “them money or not; and so they induced the exasperated people “both openly and in secret to make common cause with the sectaries. “Persons to whom the treatment professedly had become intolerable, “were employed by them to raise a confused, cankering spirit “of agitation, which came to an outburst in Siang-yang, and spread “over Szě-ch'wen and Shensi; and now warfare and executions have “been going on for five years, and still We seek for the means to “make an end of the matter. It has been found to be true that for

"several years Liu Chi-hieh was travelling or in hiding in the "district of Sin-yé, in the department Teng (in Honan), without "one of the Prefects showing himself capable of discovering him. "This is evidence that in seeking and arresting heretical sects it "is the great rule that innocent people are dragged into trouble, "while chief culprits guilty of actual rebellion and opposition "are allowed for years together to slip through the meshes of "the net¹.

"Now as regards the so-called White Lotus religion, its origin "is in the far past. The sacred writings recited by Liu Chi-hieh "had no other tendency than to admonish humanity to do what "is good, and there was not one letter therein relating to rebellion "or opposition. The crime of Liu Chi-hieh, for which he has been "cut into pieces of an inch at the stake, consisted in that he "employed a so-called Niu-pah to secretly form rebellious con- "spiracies; the punishment was caused by his own sins, and "had nothing to do with the White Lotus sect. Confucians reciting "and learning the books of Confucius and Mencius, and thus "professing the orthodox doctrine, might fare in the same way. "And if there are among the insurgents now harassing Szê- "ch'wen, Ch'u (Hukwang), Shensi and Kansuh, one or two civil "or military Confucian literati who took their side, would it be "right to blame the Confucians in general for this, make it into "a grievance against their class, and despise them? They who "profess the White Lotus religion, and fast, or recite religious "writings, differ at bottom in nothing from the peaceful population; "may one then, because there was a Liu Chi-hieh amongst them,

¹ 從前拏護劉松宋之清等破案時、劉之協在扶溝聞信脫逃。蒙皇考屢次嚴飭各省購緝、原因劉之協係屬謀逆要犯、不可不迅速擒捕。初不因其傳習白蓮教之故。彼時各省地方官未能仰體皇考聖意、竟以查拏邪教爲名、四處搜求、任聽胥役多方勒索。不論習教不習教、只論給錢不給錢、以致含恨之人與習教者表裏勾結。藉無可容身之名紛紛蠢動、起於襄陽、蔓延川陝、迄今勦辦五年、尙稽戴事。其實劉之協數年以來在鄧州新野地方往來潛匿、地方官並未能查察。可見搜拏邪教大率拖累無辜、而實在叛逆首犯轉至任其漏網多年。

"designate all the members of that religion as a band of rebels, "and institute stringent search and measures against them?"¹. — After a few more reflections of no importance to our subject, the edict terminates with a general warning to the authorities to leave the White Lotus religionists in peace, unless they should hold meetings for mutual stimulation; yea even the friends and adherents of Liu Chi-hieh, who had hidden him for so many years, they shall leave alone.

Four days later this decree was followed by another of similar tendency (*Sh. h.* 8), and containing the same frank statement as to the only main cause of the rebellion: religious persecution. It gives moreover an exposition of the logic constraining the emperor to such persecution, a logic with which we are in the main familiar, but which it is nevertheless interesting to read in a state-document produced by the supreme heretic-hunter himself:

"Reverently we have found in the Authentic Register of Decrees "of the sixth year of the Khien lung period (1741), that then "an Imperial edict was received, to the effect that, for the ruling "of regions where as yet no rebellion against the Government "has arisen, and for the protection of a realm where the Govern- "ment is not yet in danger, it is necessary to make the manners "and customs and the human mind the first and chief objects of "care. For where the human mind is orthodox (*ching*), there "the manners and customs are pure, and as a consequence the "Imperial Government possesses integrity and wisdom, in conse- "quence of which a long existence is ensured to the dynasty. "This sage edict, so glorious and brilliant, truly is a political "standard rule for myriads of generations²).

1 至於白蓮教名目由來已久。即據劉之協所誦經文大意亦不過勸人爲善、並無違悖字樣。劉之協之罪犯寸磔在於託名牛八潛造逆謀、孽由自作、與白蓮教無涉。譬如儒生誦習孔孟之書、尊崇正教。設現在川楚陝甘滋事賊匪或有一二文武生員脅從在內、豈因此而遂以儒相詬病等而下之。其學習白蓮教者持齋誦經原與齊民無異、詎因白蓮教內有劉之協一人而遂指習教之人概爲匪黨、嚴行查禁乎。

2 朕恭閱乾隆六年實錄內欽奉諭旨、制治未亂、保邦未危、必以風俗人心爲之本。人心正、則風

"My deceased father inherited from three Imperial reigns (of Shi Tsu, Shing Tsu, and Shi Tsung) an heirloom in which double "harmony and multiple concord prevailed. Under his rule all the "land between the seas and the canopy of heaven enjoyed rest "and peace; the main principles of polity directed his com- "mands; and yet, careful and reverend from morning till evening, "he tried to make his good rule still more predominant, and to "render the prevailing rest still more tranquil, with more than "threefold devotion applying himself to the first and chief objects "of care: the manners and customs, and the human mind. And "when I had reverently received from Him the Great Heirloom, "I diligently sought for His principles to rule the nation, and "had but one fear, namely not to attain this object. Reverently "looking up to Him, I received His lessons and inherited His "ardent zeal; but from morning till evening I live in fears, "especially because the human minds have more and more become "unlike those of antiquity, and the manners and customs day by "day rapidly disappear, and from day to day degenerate. Could "I ever venture to neglect to bear respectfully in my mind the "polity of my Predecessors, and often to meditate upon Their "method of improving the people and perfecting the customs?"¹

"Now the improving the people and perfecting their manners "and customs surely demands that before all things they are "prevented from being misled by heresies (sié) and thus made "to move together in the path of orthodoxy (ching); only when "this has been done can their improvement by doctrine take "effect. The doctrine of Confucius is the most worthy, the most "august for ten thousand generations. Beside this, others exist, "like those coming forth from Buddhism and Taoism, which, though "not orthodox, have since the Han and the T'ang dynasties up "to our time not been completely scoured away with sand. But "by their special dress and ceremonial attire, and because they

俗醮、而朝廷清明、國祚久遠、胥由於此。聖諭煌煌、實爲萬世治道之準。

¹ 我皇考承三朝重熙累洽之後。其時海宇安恬、綱紀整飭、然猶朝乾夕惕治益求治、安益求安、而於風俗人心之本尤三致意焉。朕寅紹丕基、勤求治理、惟恐弗克。仰承謨烈、夙夜滋懼、況人心漸不如古、風俗日趨日下。朕敢不敬念先猷、亟思化民成俗之道乎。

"live under abbots, these votaries are a separate class of people, "so that if there are among them disturbers of the peace or enemies "of the Government, these can forthwith and easily be prosecuted or "found out. But as to the members of that so-called White Lotus "religion of these later ages, they do not distinguish themselves "from ordinary people by separate dwellings, nor by a particular "dress, and so there is no means to sift from each other the "local heterogeneous elements among these religionists and non-"religionists living together in the same house. Hence, when "mandarins have to do with a heretical religion, they as a rule "make their searches and arrests quite at random; besides, over "and again they avail themselves of such occasions to extort "money, without asking whether they have to do with members "of the religion or with non-members — it is only bribes they "seek. And, what is worst of all — while ignorant country "people who cannot even read a single letter, are thus arbitrarily "and at random arrested on the charge of heretical rebellion, "the real sectaries and makers of proselytes are allowed to go "free, and remain untried. The bad weeds were not separated "from the loyal elements; they provoked disorder, and — Our "babes brandished the weapons and were slaughtered and captured "in meres and ponds for several years; and to this day they "are not pacified.....¹

Who, on reading this public confession of the emperor before his whole realm and people, can now entertain a shade of doubt as to this rebellion being a religious rebellion provoked by intolerable persecution of sects, the doom of which both holy dogma and

1 夫化民成俗必先使百姓勿惑於邪、同趨於正、而後教化可行。孔子之教萬世尊崇。此外如釋道之流、雖非正教、然漢唐至今未嘗盡行沙汰。且其服飾住持自成一類、卽有滋事爲匪者無難立時辨識。若近世所稱白蓮教、其居處衣服與齊民無異、卽一家之中同居數人其習教者與不習教者無由分別地方不肖。官吏因有邪教之目、輒肆查拏、往往藉端勒索、不問其入教與否、惟賄是求。甚至有鄉閭椎魯全不識字之人任意妄拏指爲邪匪、而實係習教傳徒者轉置之不問。良莠不分、激成事故、遂致赤子弄兵潢池勦捕頻年迄今未靖。

ancestral example imperiously imposed upon the emperor? Nevertheless, this virtuous son of Heaven and of a sanguinary father washes his hands: it is, he swears, not he who unchained rebellion, war, and slaughter, but the arrogant, rapacious mandarin and yamen-rabble did it. Also the sacred state-dogma, which year by year let loose this pack of ravenous wolves amongst the poor people, was quite innocent. Would that dogma be discarded now, in these years of fire and blood, which exposed its terrible character in all its nudity, and showed how much it was apt to shake the throne and the dynasty? By no means. Not even the idea could occur to the emperor, for, like everything preached by Confucius and his school, that dogma was to prevail "for a myriad of generations". Let us now for a few moments more listen to the self-excuses and tattling of this sanguinary autocrat:

"The truth is, that Liu Sung, Sung Chi-ts'ing and Liu Chi-hieh "were tracked and arrested merely because they harboured rebellious "intentions in secret, but not by any means on account of the "White Lotus religion. The reasons which led to the prosecution "of Liu Chi-hieh have in these days been published within the "capital and abroad; besides, in an essay written by Myself and "entitled: Discourse on Heretical Religions¹, I have made known "that sectaries respecting authority and obeying the laws must "not be searched out and arrested, but that they shall be "punished and prosecuted if they hold meetings and violate the "laws. The point of issue therefore is that such ignorant people, "as long as they conduct themselves peacefully and perform "their duties, must not be sought for with too much zeal; but "from the outset I have refused to allow that White Lotus religion "to exist, lest the ignorant hurry headlong into beguilement "every day. When the study of orthodoxy makes its light shine "clear and bright, the sideways (or left Tao) are of themselves "closed. The movement of reformation by study (of orthodoxy) "must in the first instance proceed from the Emperor. Therefore "my daily untiring devotion is directed upon a diligent search "for good principles of government; therefore also my only "aspiration is to make my Court orthodox (ching), in order that "the mandarins also may become so, and through the orthodoxy "of the mandarins my myriads of subjects likewise").

¹ A translation of this document is inserted at the end of this Chapter, page 378.

² 其實從前查拏劉松宋之清及劉之協因其潛蓄逆謀、並非因白蓮教之故。昨已將辨理劉之協

Thus Jen Tsung, "the Humane", weary of the campaigns against his own people whom persecution and slaughter had driven to despair, throws to his "babes", that he so fatherly loves, a dry bone of religious liberty: — henceforth they need no more be absolutely sure to be thrown into his dungeons for their religious convictions, tortured, beheaded, strangled, cut to pieces, scourged and exiled, provided only they abstain from holding religious meetings and forming religious corporations. Whether this double condition could be fulfilled by the people without destroying their religion, religion in general being hardly consistent with absence of edifying congregations, the august statesman, whose political sagacity was all from Confucius, was, of course, not able to take this into his account. Every line of his two decrees was intended, but, for sure, not calculated, to rock the rebels to sleep; such lullaby could hardly take effect upon a people which for generations had had ample opportunity to experience what Chinese religious liberty was worth, and now stood in arms against a tyranny which had slaughtered their wives and children already by myriads, and made their homes and fields one boundless waste. Not as head of their religion, they are told, was Liu Chi-hieh chased as a wild brute for years, imprisoned, tortured, slashed; nothing of the sort. It was only in his capacity of rebel. Behold this Son of Heaven, wading in human blood, who, at the end of his wits and seeing the bottom of his treasures, excuses himself before his people with such loathsome hypocrisy!

The resistance and tenacity displayed by the rebels, the myriads fighting on their side, and — as we read in many edicts relating to the military operations, and on almost every page of Wei Yuen's account — the masses slaughtered by the Imperialist in numerous encounters and battles, this all tends to prove that the sects counted their members amongst the people in immense numbers. Were perchance almost all the people sectaries? The heretics may have forced thousands of non-heretics to fight on

緣由宣示中外、並親製邪教說一篇申明習教而奉公守法者不必查拏、其聚衆犯法者方爲懲辦。原以此等愚氓但能安靜循分、卽不必過事苛求、初非欲留此白蓮教之名、任蚩蚩者日趨於惑也。夫正學昌明、則歧途自絕。教化之行必先自上。朕勤求治理日有孜孜。惟期正朝廷以正百官、正百官以正萬民。

their side, as from time to time the decrees proclaim — but the kernel of the insurrection was unquestionably formed by themselves. We may also admit that the various religious fraternities joined under the same banners against the common oppressor, although nowhere in the edicts or the *Shing wu ki* do we find them mentioned separately. The term White Lotus comprised them all. In Liu Chi-hieh we certainly have a person of considerable account. This *bête noire* of the supreme Government and its satraps, unanimously decried as the soul and spirit of the rebellion, apparently was a pontiff or hierarch such as Wang Shen, who figured as head of the rebellious Lotus sect in the last phase of the Ming-dynasty (p. 166). We long for more information about him, but the edicts do not give any. He evidently never did act as a warrior. Wei Yuen gives the following account of his arrest.

"In the sixth month of the fifth year (1800), the sectarian chieftain "Liu Chi-hieh was captured in Honan. At that time, in the district "Kiah in the centre of that province (see map p. 352), in the "strongholds of the family Tih, a thousand rebels had just then "risen; but Wu Hiung-kwang, who was garrisoned in Lu-shi (a "district bordering on Shensi), and Ma Hwui-yü, the Lieutenant "Governor of the province, took advantage of a moment that "they had perched together like a flight of crows, and attacked "and annihilated them. Knowing that Liu Chi-hieh had escaped, "they caught him in the district of Yeh (in Nan-yang dep.) The "Emperor being informed of the fact, considered that Liu Chi-hieh had founded heretical societies which had spread like "poison through five provinces, and for several years had managed "to evade the penalty of death; and he issued a special order to "the effect that Kao Khi, Vice-President of a Board, and Hing "Shang, officer of the Body-guard, should take him post-haste, "confined in a cage, to Peking" ¹.

Neither the great expansion of that most dangerous revolt, nor the anxiety that it might spread still further, detained the Government from religious persecution in the provinces where as yet

¹ 五年六月教首劉之協被擒于河南。時邠縣翟家寨有千賊新起、吳熊光駐防盧氏、布政使馬慧裕乘其烏合、撲滅之。知劉之協脫逃、旋獲諸葉縣。奏聞、上以劉之協首創邪教、毒流五省、逋誅數載、特命侍郎高杞侍衛興常馳驛檻送至京。*Shing wu ki*, chap. 10, fol. 1.

all was quiet. No such criminal deviation from the path traced out by his august father, could cross the emperor's mind. We read for instance, in a decree of the 21st of the fifth month of the year 1800 (*Sik. h.* 98), of the arrest of one Kao Kwan-hien 高觀賢, a propagandist in Peking; — since the books of this man and his co-religionists, thus the emperor declares, "mainly contain prayers and chants, it is evident that their offence constitutes rebellion" (內首列祝頌之語、其非爲悖逆可知); therefore the accomplices mentioned by him shall be arrested and prosecuted, but only such punishments shall be inflicted as they deserve, and herewith the suit shall end, lest arrests be made of innocent people. In this way peace and rest will be best preserved. The first pages of the next chapter will further show how the polity of persecution continued its work unhampered during the great rebellion.

And now for a few moments longer we must return to the field of war.

The fact that Liu Chi-hieh in the period when the rebellion began to flag, could still, in the very heart of Honan, call a thousand people to arms, shows that there was yet work of slaughter in abundance for the Imperial armies. In proof of the strong cohesion of the sects, far and wide, we may quote the fact that they kept up their connections even with their chief Wang Fah-sheng (see p. 356), an exile in the heart of Asia. We know this through Wei Yuen, who writes: "In the winter of that year (1800), one "Chang Ts'üen in Nganhwui, member of a heretical religion, sent "his son Chang Hiao-yuen with three co-religionists secretly through "the Kia-yuh Pass (in the extreme north-west of Kansuh, map p. 313) "to a place of exile in Kashgar, to visit Wang Fah-sheng, the "chief of their religion. On his return, Chang Hiao-yuen travelled "to Szë-ch'wen (to visit the camps of the rebels?), and then for fear "of punishment gave himself up to the authorities. By Imperial "order he was sent back to the seat of his family, and with his "father received pardon from the penalty of death, in order that "rebellious movements might be kept down" ¹.

In Shensi the campaign was led by Khoh-leh-ting-pao, in Szë-ch'wen by Teh Leng-t'ai and Leh Pao, who, according to official

¹ 是年冬安徽民張全習邪教、令其子張效元與同教三人潛出嘉峪關赴喀什噶爾戍所、訪其教首王發生。效元回至四川、畏罪出首。詔遞回原籍、父子免死、以安反側。 *Shing wu ki*, chap. 10, fol. 1.

reports, defeated the insurgent over and over again, slaying them by thousands. In Hupeh also fighting continued, but apparently with little success for the Imperialists, for in the beginning of 1801 the emperor felt constrained to entice Sū T'ien-teh, Wang T'ing-chao 王廷詔, Fan Jen-kieh 樊人傑, and still other sectarian chiefs to subjection, by promising them high rewards, as well as pardon from the penalty of death to all others who submitted. Whether these Chinese tactics led to any considerable results, we know not, but there are serious reasons to doubt it. Indeed we read in Wei Yuen's book that in the month following, Wang T'ing-chao was taken prisoner and sent in a cage to Peking. On this occasion he showed again how corrupt he was, by being found in possession of a religious book with portraits. And Sū T'ien-teh, as Wei Yuen further relates, was drowned, or drowned himself, in the fifth month near Liang-ho-kheu 兩河口, when his troops were pressed hard by those of Teh Leng-t'ai. And Fan Jen-kieh we meet with again as a member of the religion of the Old One (老教), or Lo Hwai, in the third month of 1802, in the function of cashier to an insurgent force in Hupeh, which was dispersed in the fifth month on the borders of the districts Fang 房 and Chuh-shan 竹山; on this occasion he was drowned in the swollen border stream. In the sixth month of that year Khoh-leh-teng-pao could report to his lord and master, that in Szē-ch'wen and Shensi the rebel armies were all scattered, and were left to roam about in the mountains as a disorganized band. Neither he, nor Teh Leng-t'ai would give them any rest, and two months later matters were so far advanced that the rebel bands fled whenever the Imperialists came in sight, and did not take a firm stand anywhere again. Then Wei Yuen has to fill another series of pages with reports of wholesale slaughter, and decapitations by thousands. In the tenth month Hupeh too was declared clear of rebels, and in the twelfth the emperor could proceed to adjudge rewards to the Viceroys of Szē-ch'wen, Shensi and Hukwang, viz. Leh Pao, Hwui Ling 惠齡, and Wu Hiung-kwang, with the high privilege of carrying yellow marks of distinction. Khoh-leh-teng-pao and Teh Leng-t'ai were endowed with the dignity of heu 侯, the second grade of nobility, hereditary for ever; Leh Pao received the third grade, poh 伯, and Ming Liang the fifth, nan 男. The emperor also rejoiced the hearts of numerous stars of second magnitude with various marks of distinction and honour. He went to announce the joyful news of the pacification to the soul of his father at his mausoleum,

with a solemn sacrifice, and he sent emissaries into the four provinces now reconquered, to bring thank-offerings in his name to the gods of the mountains and rivers. And finally, in all the devastated regions he granted the agriculturists immunity from any arrears of ground rent: a magnanimous act which did not cost him much, since the people who might have profited by it existed no more.

The long edict of the 16th of the twelfth month (9 Jan. 1803) by which all these blessings and favours were bestowed, is contained in the 19th chapter of the *Shing hiun*. It is worth noticing that in the preamble of this state-document, which is a short discourse on the causes of the rebellion, this is boldly stated to have been provoked by the religions themselves, because heretics beguiled the ignorant crowd under the pretence of offering incense and healing the sick, and because they raised contributions. And now, although the rebellion was at an end, not so the slaughtering. The laurelled heroes of yesterday were now converted into wholesale executioners. "The three provinces", Wei yuen writes, "were indeed pacified, but the mountainous parts and the frontier lands still sheltered fugitives. An Imperial decree declared, that although the main disease was cured, the boils and sores were not yet healed, so that the chief and sub-Commanders under whom the occupied territory was placed, should not come to the Metropolis too soon; and the generals should take warning of the precedent of Li Tszē-ch'ing of the latter period of the Ming dynasty, who, being completely beaten by the Shensi troops, saved his life in the mountains with hardly more than 18 horsemen, and a year later re-appeared with fresh troops, to rage again on a large scale. Therefore one single rebel left undestroyed, may be quite enough to spread rebellion afresh, like a flood or a creeping plant"¹.

Khoh-leh-teng-pao occupied Si-hiang 西鄉, in south Shensi, thus cutting off the retreat to the north for the rebels in Szē-ch'wen; Teh Leng-t'ai formed another cordon in Szē-ch'wen, about T'ai-p'ing 太平 and Ta-ning 大寧, in order to prevent the rebels

¹ 是時三省雖靖、山林邊界尚蔽逋逃。詔以大病雖愈、瘡痍未復、命經略叅贊毋遽來京、而諸帥亦鑒于明季李自成、爲陝兵剿敗、僅餘十八騎亡命山中、逾年復糾衆出大猖獗。是一賊不盡皆足滋蔓。 *Shing wu ki*, chap. 10, III.

from falling into Hupeh, while Leh Pao with Yang Yü-ch'un 楊遇春 manoeuvred between the two, to do the actual butchering. The pages in Wei Yuen's book, which describe this massacre, are disgusting to read; they are a monotonous enumeration of skirmishes and carnages, captures and decapitations by hundreds. On the 15th of the seventh month (30 Aug. 1803) an Imperial decree proclaimed the joyful news that the work of pacification was actually accomplished, thanks to the help of Highest Heaven, the Imperial ancestors, and the departed Kao Tsung (*Sh. h.* 19).

There are no means of guessing the number of human lives swallowed up in these eight years of religious war. Wei Yuen declares himself incapable of estimating them, but he is better informed about the costs: the Imperial treasuries were lightened by twenty thousand myriad ounces of silver. The number of butchered rebels, he adds, about which reports were sent in officially to the Throne, reaches a total of several hundred thousand, but no figures can possibly be procured for the masses who fell in the Imperial ranks, or perished in the five provinces from want, misery, and distress. Probably starvation and suicide destroyed almost all the aged and weak, the women and children, driven helplessly from their devastated homesteads. Is there in the history of the world a second example of such destruction of a people by its ruler for the sake of a political theory of fanatic orthodoxy? Verily, the altar of Confucius, on which the Chinese nation is immolated, is the bloodiest ever built. And the Powers who never have viewed that altar in this light, who never have known its hideous character, will they persistently keep it standing, and save the high-priests officiating thereat from being dethroned by their victims?

In conclusion it remains for us to fulfil a promise made on page 372, and place before our readers the Discourse on Heretical Religions (邪教說), which the emperor shortly after the arrest of Liu Chi-hieh, i. e. about the middle of the year 1800, gave to the nation as a product of his own brain and hand. We are enabled to do so by the *Szë-ch'wen tung chi* 四川通志 or "General Account of Szë-ch'wen", which in the nineteenth chapter contains a reprint of it, amidst many particulars about the revolt. This sample of Imperial sagacity and genius contains in fact nothing we do not already know, and is only of some value for us for confirming in supreme instance the political and ethical theory regarding sects and persecutions, developed in so many other state documents.

"The wise sovereigns of the past cut and wrought the means for helping them (in ruling their states) out of the Tao te h or virtues and blessings of the Tao, and out of benevolence, righteousness, ceremonies, music, and penal and political measures; and improving and nurturing the ten thousand regions therewith, they made the people quickly advance day by day in the path of orthodoxy, as otherwise they might be seduced by heresies ¹.

"Only since the two religions played their part in the Middle Kingdom have the names Buddhism and Taoism existed there. Their sermons have also been edited by us, Confucians, because their highest aim is equally exquisite and of fundamental excellence, for they exhort mankind to do good, and they withhold them from evil, thus being of help in the Sovereign's work of transformation and improvement, without much deviation or error. Hence it is that sage emperors and wise sovereigns have tolerated these classes, and have not applied to them the scouring-process with sand (extermination). But as regards the starting-point of the White Lotus religion, this merely consists in defrauding the people of their money and in beguiling the multitude. Under pretence of sacrificing incense and affording cure to the sick, it secretly possesses Buddhist sutras, and sayings about Taoist immortals, without its members distinguishing themselves in dress from ordinary people, nor having convents or abbots; the people it gathers are altogether unreliable rabble, who, giving up their trades and business, cannot help spreading, and becoming rebels. Also in this respect they are not the equals of the Buddhist and Taoist clergy, and yet where are they not found in the empire, over its whole extent? If they merely can keep quiet and obey the laws, their burning of incense and curing of the sick are not forbidden under the reign of this dynasty, as being at bottom works of benevolence prompted by commiseration. But when they take such work as a pretext for gathering people, for wielding arms, and gradually creating a thing of so high consequences as a rebellion, then the Sovereign's laws cannot tolerate them ².

¹ 先聖王以道德仁義禮樂刑政裁成輔相、化育萬方、使民日趨於正道、恐爲邪說所誘也。

² 自二氏行於中國始有釋教道教之名。因其說亦皆吾儒所撰、大旨亦精微元妙、勸人爲善、戒人爲惡、輔翼王化無大差謬。是以聖帝明王姑存

"Thus it was that searches and arrests commenced on account of no more than one or two rebellious conspirators, ringleaders such as Liu Sung, Sung Chi-ts'ing, and Liu Chi-hieh. The first named two men had undergone their legal punishment, and nobody was as yet involved, when Liu Chi-hieh escaped from 'Fu-keu (see p. 357). He was then the only culprit sought after, but among the Prefects some did not properly execute the orders received respecting him, while others were rapacious and sought to enrich themselves; lictors, police, and yamen-writers came out in all directions to disturb and vex the people; the rabble among the country-people used this opportunity to blow the trumpet of search, and people really guilty of rebellion were ranked among those that were not to be prosecuted, while the innocent were at random arrested under the pretext that it was for the prosecution of the White Lotus religion. Thus a rising was caused in Siang-yang (see p. 357), and through Yü (Honan) the rebellion passed into Shensi, as also into the department Tah in Szë-ch'wen. Sū T'ien-teh and Wang San-hwai availed themselves of the prevailing canker of agitation to induce the rebels to make common cause, and from that moment they quickly moved westward, exhausting Our armies by skulking everywhere. The woes thus inflicted upon Our loyal subjects wound Our heart and distress Our eyes; they can hardly be described by pen¹.

此類、不加沙汰。至於白蓮教之始則爲騙錢惑衆。假燒香治病爲名、竊佛經仙籙之語、衣服與齊民無異、又無寺宇住持、所聚之人皆失業無賴之輩、所以必流爲盜賊。是又僧道之不若矣、然天下之大何所不有。苟能安靜奉法卽燒香治病原有惻怛之仁心、在朝政之所不禁。若藉此聚衆弄兵漸成叛逆之大案、則王法之所不容。

¹ 故查拏之始原因逆謀之一二人、如劉松宋之清劉之協首犯耳。劉松宋之清皆已伏法、竝未株連、而劉之協自扶溝脫逃。所緝者仍此一犯、而地方官有奉行不善者、有苛求圖利者、胥役衙書四出滋擾、閭閻無賴借事吹求、將正犯反置於不問、妄拏無辜、名曰欲辨白蓮教。以致起於襄陽、由豫入陝而川省達州。徐添德王三槐亦乘時蠢動、互

"At present the camps of the insurgents are not entirely filled
 "with religious rebels only, but shelter also revolting people
 "who misuse their power, merely to rob and plunder. Those
 "whom the Government armies slay, are rebels, and those who,
 "though not sectaries, oppose them, are killed without mercy.
 "But sectaries, and people who at home occupy themselves with
 "reciting religious things, are not punished for that. Even Liu
 "Chi-hieh in his capacity of religious chief of the White Lotus sect
 "would, ere he became a rebel, have merely been condemned to
 "exile if he had bent his neck or had been caught. But since he fled to
 "Hupeh and made common cause with the two rebels Yao (Chi-fu)
 "and Ts'i, and arranged with his co-religionists that they should
 "rise on the hour ch'ien of the day, month and year of this same
 "name, he was a rebel in the true sense, and no pardon could pos-
 "sibly be granted to him. And after the outbreak he again stealthily
 "travelled to Honan, and there slipped through the nets during
 "seven years. If from that moment he had kept quiet and hidden
 "himself, he could still have escaped. Who could expect that he
 "would then make common cause with Li Kieh, and cause a rising
 "in Pao (Pao-fung) and Kiah (see p. 374)? But from that moment
 "his guiltiness of the worst of all crimes (rebellion) was at its
 "acme, and the celestial divinities were then so filled with disgust
 "of him that they induced him to cast himself into the net of
 "the law. Thus the government principles could again be made
 "to work correctly; was this the work of men?"¹

"That the White Lotus sect is not to be identified with the rebel-

相勾結、自此遂東奔西、竄疲我官兵、害我良民傷
 心慘目、實難備書。

¹ 現今賊營中非盡教匪也、亂民乘勢圖劫掠耳。
 夫官軍所誅者叛逆也、未習教而抗拒者殺無赦。
 習教而在家持誦者原無罪也。即如劉之協雖爲
 白蓮教教首、其未謀逆以前若俯首就擒、其罪僅
 止發遣耳。脫逃後至湖北、糾約姚齊二逆、竝同
 教人等定於辰年辰月辰日辰時起事、是真叛逆、
 斷不可赦矣。起事後伊又潛往豫省、漏網七年之
 久。若從此安靜匿藏、原可倖免。孰意又糾約李
 傑等由寶邨起事。此由罪大惡極、天神共憤使之
 自投法網。得正憲章、豈人力哉。

“lion, is perfectly clear from the above, and easy to understand. “Suppose there were in the rebel camps one or two members of “the Buddhist and Taoist clergy, would the two religions for this “have to be subjected to the thorough scouring-process with “sand? And if one or two literary graduates were there, should “then the institution of state-examination and preferment for “official dignities have to be abolished for that? After all, the “rebels among the members of the White Lotus religion are “ranked by the Law among those who must be put to death, “but those of its members who have not revolted — how could “we tolerate their being totally exterminated?

“The reason being now clear why the White Lotus religion is “not identical with the rebels, it follows that the prosecutions “which have taken place in these five years, exclusively concerned “the main point, namely the rebellion, and did not aim at the “extermination of heretical religions. But the holding of meetings “and the collecting of contributions finally result in disturbance of “the peace. Therefore, ye mandarins in the loyal districts, earnestly “instruct the people and guide them; promote the orthodox “studies everywhere, and thus imbue them with benevolence, “and rub rectitude into them; thus make them walk according “to the rescripts and conform themselves to the rules; thus “transform their harshness and viciousness, alter their manners, “and modify their customs. Then peace will probably by and by “prevail, and the people will quietly devote themselves to their trades “and professions, which after all is the dearest hope We cherish”¹.

¹ 故白蓮教與叛逆不同乃顯而易見之理。設若賊營中有一二僧道、豈盡行沙汰二氏乎。有一二生員、豈遂廢科舉之典乎。然則白蓮教之爲逆者法在必誅、其未謀逆之白蓮教豈忍盡行剿洗耶。

白蓮教與叛逆不同之理既明、則五年以來所辦理者一叛逆大案也、非欲除邪教也。然聚衆斂錢終流爲不靖。是在良有司實心訓導、宣揚正學、漸仁摩義、蹈矩循規、化其暴戾、易俗移風。庶幾小康、民安本業、朕實有厚望焉。

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PERIOD 1800—1812.

We stated on page 366, that, while the rebellion was raging in the five provinces, the persecution of sects outside the actual scene of the war was continued as before. The fear of enlarging thereby the field of revolt, and involving still more districts, or perhaps provinces, in the catastrophe, may have withheld higher and lower authorities from displaying excessive zeal, and rather have prompted them to moderation. On the other hand, on account of this very fear, many mandarins may have followed the opposite line of conduct, and have resorted to most strenuous measures for intimidation or extermination of Sectarianism. Be this as it may, at all events it remains highly improbable that the insurrection gave more than a pretence of rest and peace to heretics outside the revolting provinces.

Imperial decrees corroborate this statement. In the *Shing hin* (chap. 8) there is one of the 22nd day of the intercalary month following on the fourth month of the year 1800 (14 June), of the following contents. In the Authentic Register of Decrees (實錄) of My deceased father it is written that the people are ignorant, and led astray in manifold ways as regards spirits and deities, thus being prompted to outlay for prayers, invocations and sacrifices which bring no profit whatever. For instance, they make pilgrimages to other provinces, involving journeys of a thousand or even three thousand miles, often taking no less than three months, and resulting in the establishment of societies for the worship of deities. Such customs are prevalent in Chihli, Shantung, Shansi, Shensi, and other parts of the empire, but more especially in Honan. The Viceroy and Governors are therefore ordered cautiously to stop such practices, and to prevent the people from gathering together for the purpose of making such excursions, which are detrimental to agriculture, promote dissipation, and tend to corrupt the hearts and customs.

With all reverence I look up to this beautiful example of My august father, who thus by precept and admonition purified

the manners and customs. Being on a journey not long ago, I saw that pilgrimages were made to the Ya-ki 丫髻 mountains, the Tien-tai 天台 mount (in Chehkiang), and other places, and that this had become a regular custom even in the provinces closer to Peking. In groups of hundreds and thousands the people travel thither, blocking up the ways, men and women, riotous and loyal people all mixing up together; this entails not only needless waste of money and goods, but also disturbance and disorder. People do such things with the object of seeking happiness, or to invoke the gods for recovery of sick parents, instead of — as duty prescribes — remaining at home to nurse them. These are the causes of the formation of heterodox sects, without the extermination of which it is impossible to keep the minds orthodox and to let good manners and customs abound. In short, pilgrimages and the formation of clubs for this purpose shall be prevented by proclamation by the Viceroys and Governors, and they who are guilty of such things shall be severely punished in accordance with the law.

As another illustration of the position taken up by the high Government with regard to the heretics during that critical revolt, the following decree (*S/h. h.* 98), issued in 1801, on the 16th of the eleventh month (21 Dec.), will also serve. Information reached the Throne, that in the Honan district Si-hwa 西華 (map p. 298) a certain Chang Han-yü 張憐予, under the impression that the persecution of sectaries had ceased, collected a gang, who perpetrated a murder, after which the authorities with soldiers, lictors and villagers, arrested about forty of them. "We approve of this prosecution", the emperor decrees. "We formerly ordered in an edict (p. 372), and again in Our Discourse on Heretical Religions (page 379) promulgated throughout the provinces, that the Prefects are not bound to search out and to capture the followers of religions, these having to be considered as country-folk who know no better, and merely fast and recite religious scriptures without in any way committing lawless acts"¹. Therefore in the case under consideration, justice shall be administered with precaution, in order not to arouse fear and doubt in the minds of the people, — which evidently means, not to make them think that the persecutions

¹ 所辦好。前此節降諭旨、並親製邪教說、頒發各省令地方官不必查拏習教之人、原以鄉愚無知、不過喫齋念經、並無不法事跡。

were breaking out afresh. As a reward for his activity, the Prefect of the district may come to Peking; to be introduced to the emperor; other Prefects also, who played a deserving part in this affair, are to be rewarded; the culprits shall be executed at the place where they committed their crime; their heads shall be exhibited on the spot, and the others shall be judged and punished in the capital of the province.

It is clear then that the prevailing rebellion could only extort one concession from the tyrant, viz. no longer, as heretofore, were fasting and praying folks to be raged against with gross licentiousness, but with moderation. As for perpetrators of things contrary to the laws, and in particular those falling under the Law against Heresy, namely leaders, propagandists and organizers of meetings, for them the old regime remained in full force. On that worthless concession, formally laid down in the Law against Heresy (page 140), we expressed our opinion on page 141. Such were the alms thrown to his people by the Grand-Confucianist, in exchange for some millions of lives sacrificed in the struggle for religious liberty; in exchange for the lives of their wives and children; in exchange for their homes and properties devoured by flames or destroyed by arms! In respect of religious liberty in China this concession speaks volumes. It is easy to see that no good Confucian officer was in any way restricted by it. And so the demon of persecution might proceed unbridled in his old, bloody path, catching his victims on all sides from amongst poor people groping after Salvation by means of religion.

From a decree of the 8th of the fifth month 1803 (25 June) we learn that in Nan-tsing 南靖, a district of the Chang-cheu department in Fuhkien (map p. 342), a Buddhist priest, member of the Yen 顏 tribe, was sought for on an accusation of theft, but that he escaped, being warned by two policemen, whose religious leader he was. These men were thereupon condemned to strangulation, as chief culprits in this charge of misleading the people by "left Tao". The emperor orders that the sentence shall immediately be executed, and that it shall be prescribed by special decree to proceed henceforth with the utmost rigour against policemen who prove to be members of societies, or, worse still, assist the principals in such crimes to escape. A proof that heresy had crept even into the homes and bureaux of the very officers employed by the State to destroy it.

It stands to reason that during the great insurrection the religious societies in other provinces were also astir. While the dramatic afterpiece, the slaughter of the dispersed rebel remnants,

was enacted, a decree (*S/h. l.* 98) of the 8th of the twelfth month (Jan. 20) 1803 brought the news that in Kiangsi, probably somewhere on the Fuhkien frontiers, two zealots of a sect, Lai Tah-chung 賴達忠 and Liao Kan-cheu 廖幹周, had persuaded more than 1500 people to rise simultaneously at a given sign, but that, the rains having forced them to delay the carrying out of their plans, the authorities had had time "to kill or arrest them all" (悉數殲擒). According to confessions extorted from them, they were for the most part disciples or followers of the Fuhkieneses Li Ling-kwei 李凌魁, who, as reported at the time to the Throne, had been strangled there. It is sufficient — thus decreed the emperor, whom events had rendered somewhat cautious — to take such measures as will restore peace and repress opposition.

This heresy-hunt nevertheless assumed larger proportions. On the 16th of the fourth month of the following year (May 24) a decree was issued, from which we learn that Ts'in Ch'ing-ngen 秦承恩, the Governor of the province, had also involved in the persecutions a so-called Mother-sect (老母教), a member of which, Wang T'ien-tsu 王添組 or Wang Sui-chung 王瑞忠 by name, had proclaimed himself to be Maitreya re-incarnate, thus enflaming the minds of the country people. In the previous year he had been asked for support by Liao Kan-cheu afore-mentioned, under promise to make him "religious headman of the temple of Supreme Purity" (上清宮教主), that is to say, Taoist pontiff in Kwei-khi 貴溪 (map page 342). He had also prepared a banner, to assemble the people. But he and two accomplices were sentenced by the Governor to be slashed or beheaded as rebels, and this grandee now requests permission from the emperor to execute their sentences and to forward their heads. And the Son of Heaven highly approves of these measures, and commends the Governor for not blindly persecuting peaceful people who did not violate the laws, and for not creating dangerous consternation or panic. He is to impress upon the people by proclamation how this Wang T'ien-tsu, who in his pseudo-capacity of Maitreya pretended to know the past and the future and to be able to deliver all from misery and trouble, could not even save himself from the penalty of death, thereby proving himself an imposter; and on this ground, heresies of whatever nature deserve no credit at all, and are better not embraced.

Persecution of Christians.

The year 1805 is marked by a persecution of Christian communities in Peking, which in more than one respect deserves our attention. On the 30th day of the fourth month (May 28) the emperor issued the following decree to the Chancery:

„According to a report from the Board of Punishments, this body examined a Kwangtung man, Ch'en Joh-wang by name, who surreptitiously carried letters and maps for the European Teh T'ien-szē (Teh, the Heaven Bestowed, Adeodato); and the Board discovered propagandists and followers of a religion, who were severally sentenced.

“The Europeans have a religion of belief in and worship of the Lord of Heaven, which is professed and handed down in their realms. In the beginning that religion was not forbidden here, and so in the Imperial capital European churches were erected, but merely because of the western methods, which were allotted a place in our chronological and astronomical calculations. All persons who voluntarily came from those realms to Peking to practise that science, settled in those churches; but from the beginning they were not allowed any intercourse with the natives of China proper, in order not to foster disorder. And yet this Adeodato has had the audacity secretly to propagate and disseminate his religion. The examination of the various persons guilty of practising it, has divulged the fact that not merely ignorant people and women were enflamed and misled by it, but even Bannermen were converted to that faith and worship; moreover, they used more than thirty-one religious books in Chinese characters. If no rigorous measures of prosecution be taken against them, how then can those heresies be stopped, and the progress on side-paths be prevented?¹

¹ 據刑部奏審明廣東民人陳若望、私代西洋人德天賜遞送書信地圖、並究出傳教習教各犯分別定擬一摺。

西洋人信奉天主教、在該國習俗相沿。原所不禁、卽京師設立西洋堂亦祇因推算天文參用西法。凡該國情願來京學藝者均得在堂棲止、原不准與內地民人往來滋事。乃德天賜膽敢私行傳播。訊明習教各犯不惟愚民婦女被其煽惑、兼有

“What has been originally written in those countries in European characters does not find any followers or propagators among our natives. But the religious books and writings now discovered have all been printed in Chinese, with what intent it is needless to inquire; so those books must inevitably find propagators and followers among the ignorant natives, and the Bannermen, above all, cannot escape from their influence. This is a matter therefore most seriously connected with the hearts and minds, the manners and customs. Ch'en Joh-wang who carried letters; Cheu Ping-teh of the Chinese army, who in their chapel preached their doctrine; and also the civilians Liu Ch'ao-tung, Chao Ting-cheu, and Chu Ch'ang-t'ai, all of them heads of the community, and the Chinese soldier Wang Meu-teh, who either despatched letters, or frequently propagated their misleading doctrines — they shall, pursuant to the verdict of the Board of Punishments, be sent up to Ili, and there given as slaves to the Oelöt; and without using heavy cangues, they shall be exhibited therein for three months, to show that there are punishments to deter people from such crimes”¹.

“The woman of the Yang tribe, married in that of Ch'en, who has done duty as leader of the female community, is still more strictly to be reckoned amongst those who did not quietly do their duties. She must therefore be sent up to Ili, and there be given as slave-woman to the soldiery; and she shall not be exempt from wearing the cangue, nor be allowed to redeem her punishment. And the civilian Kien Heng, who forwarded letters for others by which people were persuaded to spread the religion, as also the soldier of the Chinese army T'ung Heng-shen, who had many chances given him to turn from his errors,

旗人亦復信奉、並用漢字編造西洋經卷至三十一種之多。若不嚴行懲辦、何以闢異說而杜歧趨。

¹ 且該國原係書寫西洋字、內地民人無從傳習。今查出所造經卷俱係刊刻漢字、其居心實不可問、此在內地愚民已不得傳習、而旗人尤不應出。此關繫人心風俗者甚鉅。所有寄信人陳若望、在堂講道之漢軍周炳德、會長民人劉朝棟趙廷畛朱長泰、漢軍汪茂德、或往來寄信、或輾轉傳惑、著照刑部所擬發往伊犁、給額魯特爲奴、乃免用重枷號三個月、以示懲儆。

"but tenaciously clung to them, and would not be roused from them, they shall both be placed in the cangue for three months, and when this term has expired, be sent up to Ili and there given as slaves to the Oelöt. Cheu Ping-teh, Wang Meu-teh, and T'ung Heng-shen (already mentioned), who, disregarding their original position (as military men), of their own free will professed the European religion, can certainly no longer associate with others of their class, and are therefore all expelled from their Banner-regiment.

"But they who, as soon as proclamations were issued to that effect, voluntarily relinquished this religion, namely the civilians Wang Shi-ning, Ko T'ien-fuh, Yin Szě-king, and Wu Si-man, as also the soldiers of the Chinese army T'ung Ming, T'ung Szě and Ts'ai Yung-t'ung — they repented themselves, and therefore shall be set free. But it is to be feared that these criminals under the temporary fear of punishment dissembled with their lips, and that their recantation did not proceed from absolute sincerity. Therefore the officers ruling the Banners or the family-seats of those men shall keep them under rigorous control, and if they dare to propagate or profess the religion again, a doubly severe punishment shall forthwith be meted out to them ¹.

"And Adeodato, a European who came to the capital as a servant in Government employ, instead of quietly performing his duties and obeying the laws, recklessly undertook the printing of books and the propagation of his religion — a heinous crime assuredly. The Board of Punishments proposes that we either send him

¹ 民婦陳楊氏以婦女充當會長、尤屬不安本分。著發往伊犁、給兵丁爲奴、不准折枷收贖。民人簡恆曾代爲寄信請人傳教、漢軍佟恆善經反覆開導、執迷不悟、俱著枷號三箇月、滿日發往伊犁給額魯特爲奴。周炳德汪茂德佟恆善既自偕根本、甘心習學洋教、實不齒於人類、均各銷除旗檔。

至一經曉諭即情願出教之民人王世寧柯添幅尹思敬吳西滿、漢軍佟明佟四蔡勇通、尙知悔過、應行省釋。但恐該犯等因一時畏罪飾詞未必出於至誠。仍著該管旗籍各官嚴加管束、如敢再行傳習即加倍治罪。

"back to his chapel, or else to the country whence he came; "but neither of these two measures is adequate to his crime. An "officer appointed by the Board of War shall bring this man to "Jehol, and there he shall be incarcerated in the barracks of the "Oelöt. Furthermore he shall be committed there to Khing Kieh, "who forthwith shall take charge of him and keep him under "control, to prevent him from having intercourse or any business "with natives and Bannermen, and thus also from fanning the "fire of error among them.

"Our Minister Shang Fuh, charged with the administration of "affairs concerning the European chapels, has proved incapable of "discovering in time that this Adeodato forwarded letters, printed "books, and propagated his religion; he shall therefore be delivered "to the Imperial Household Department, to be tried and sentenced. "And all the Generals and Assistant-Generals successively in "office, whom it escaped that there were Bannermen professing "this religion, shall be examined by the Council of State, "who shall thereafter propose to Us to deliver them up to the "Board of Punishments, to be tried and sentenced. And the stock "of books and writings preserved in the chapels (the libraries "and archives?) shall be delivered up to the Council of State, who, "in concert with officials delegated by the Board of Punishments, "shall examine and destroy or burn them, without anything of "them being left. And their printing-blocks shall be searched "out and destroyed throughout the five Wards of the city and "the Shun-tien department by the Yamen of the Commander "of the Gendarmerie. And proclamations shall be issued, to inform "both military and citizens, that if after this there be amongst "them any who have intercourse with Europeans or who practise "their religion, they shall be rigorously punished according to the "laws against transgression of Imperial orders, without any mercy "or clemency being vouchsafed to them. With regard to all "other culprits, the sentences shall be carried out as they were "pronounced by the Board of Punishments"¹.

1 德天賜以西洋人來京當差、不知安分守法、妄行刊書傳教、實爲可惡。該部奏請或飭令回堂、或遣回本國、均屬未協。德天賜著兵部派員解往熱河、在額魯特營房圈禁。仍交慶傑、隨時管束、毋許與內地旗民往來交涉、以杜煽惑。

管理西洋堂事務大臣常福於德天賜寄信刊

A translation of this decree has been furnished by Staunton, in his work on the Penal Code of China, App. 18. This author faithfully rendered the chief substance, but he omitted sundry characteristic details; hence our re-translation will not be superfluous. The same reason compels us to re-translate the following remarkable edict, likewise published by Staunton; it was issued by the emperor to the Chancery on the 20th of the ensuing month, or 17 June:

"In consideration of the fact that the inmates of the European chapels in the capital have had intercourse with Banner people for the exercise of their religion, and that they have surreptitiously printed and distributed books in Manchu and Chinese, We have repeatedly decreed that such things should be strictly prohibited. Moreover We have ordered that the books and writings preserved in each chapel, which were sought with a view to their confiscation and destruction, be delivered up to the high members of the Council of State, who were to examine and peruse the books and writings thus discovered. Every extract made by this body was in due course sent to Me for inspection, and I examined many parts. Thus for instance I found it stated in a "Discourse on the most important points of this Religion" that their Lord of Heaven is the high Ruler of the ten thousand nations. In the "Abundant Blessings of the Saints' Calendar" it is written that Jesus the incarnate, in whom we believe, is the great lord of all men and all creatures of the whole earth; and also that in China they call our doctrine heresy (i twan) and left Tao, but that they possibly do so because China is plunged in darkness in accordance with the will of the Lord. That book also says: Wherever men are subject to the great Lord who lives in heaven and on earth; wherever sovereigns and kings, as well as officers and people, have severally thrown off heresy (sié) and taken refuge in truth (ching), and the holy religion predominates, there it has never yet occurred that peace and good government did not prevail for

書傳教等事未能先時查察、著交內務府議處。其失察旗人習教之歷任都統副都統等著軍機大臣查明奏請交部分別議處。該堂存貯經卷交軍機大臣、會同刑部派員檢查銷燬、毋許存留。其刊刻板片並著五城順天府步軍統領衙門一體查銷。並出示曉諭軍民人等、嗣後儻再有與西洋人往來習教者、即照違旨例從重懲究、決不寬貸。餘著照刑部所議行。 *Shing hiun*, chap. 99.

"ever. Furthermore it is written therein: The Lord we worship is "in very truth the Lord of all creatures in heaven and on earth. "Through him is the way to his kingdom; all other ways are of "man and of the flesh. The Saints desire that this opportunity "shall be embraced to promulgate the religion in the Flowery "Land of the Centre. — And in the "Instructions concerning "Marriage" it is stated: He who professes another religion is "like unto a slave of the devil¹.

"Herewith quite enough, though not everything, has been said "concerning these writings, so divergent, senseless and wild, so "strange, so deceitful, and so unclassical. But they contain matters "of a still more rebellious and irrational nature. So, for instance, "they say that to obey the commands of parents, if thereby "any precept of God is violated, is most unfilial. There was a "holy woman, called Barbara, who, having refused to obey her "parents and thereby to violate a commandment (of God), was killed "by her ignorant father with his own hands; but the righteous "anger of the Lord, in absolute justice, immediately struck him "dead with a thunderbolt; — parents, relations, and friends who "prevent others from serving God, take warning by this! By "talking thus they destroy the human relationships, and renounce "the laws of nature; it is indeed like the mad barking of dogs. "Those writings also relate, that at that time there was a bei- "tszě (Manchu prince), who all his life committed injustice, and "threw to the winds the expostulations which his spouse (fuh- "tsin) addressed to him with the utmost energy. On a certain day

1 前因京師西洋堂人有與旗民往來習教、並私刊清漢字書籍傳播之事、疊經降旨嚴行飭禁。並令將各堂所貯書籍檢出繳銷、當交軍機大臣、將檢出書籍查看。旋據簽出各條呈覽、朕幾餘披閱。如教要序論內稱其天主是萬邦之大君。聖年廣益內稱所信降生之耶蘇係普天下各人物之大君、又稱中國呼異端爲左道未必非默默中爲承行主旨而有是言。又稱凡在天地大主之下、自君王以至士庶人人棄邪歸正、聖教大行、未有不久安長治者。又稱我敬之主真正是天地人物之主。又稱憑他有道之邦、多係世俗肉身之道。又稱聖人欲乘此機會傳教中華。又婚配訓言內稱外教者如同魔鬼奴才、等語。

“a pack of devils arrived, seized the prince, and descended with him into hell. And God in heaven, on account of the virtuous life of the fuh-tsin, privately informed her that her husband suffered the pains of the sea of fire for ever. This shows that he who disregards virtuous exhortations cannot possibly escape the eternal punishments of God. Such tales are still more rebellious talk from reckless mouths. Whence do those Europeans know the appellations bei-tszě and fuh-tsin? Of course through their intercourse and conversation with Bannermen, and afterwards they wrote down at random the story here mentioned. The event it relates belongs to the past, and need not be investigated here; but that this so-called bei-tszě was dragged into hell by devils, is quite an exploded idea founded on nothing, without the faintest shadow or sound of truth. Seeing that they employ their abilities for the fabrication of such untruths, what further nonsense that ought never to be uttered may they not have in store, what more things that should never be committed to writing!¹

“If such things are not stopped in time by severe measures, but are allowed to be freely spread and disseminated, and if the tales thus promulgated assume a still more seditious and irrational character than those now under consideration, it will then be impossible to abstain from punishment and prosecution on the largest

1 支離狂妄怪誕不經不一而足。而其中尤爲悖謬者。則稱聽父母所命相反於天主之命、爲大不孝。有聖女巴爾拔拉、不肯聽從逆命、被頑父親手殺之、天主義怒至公、卽以暴雷擊死之、爲人父母親友阻人事主者當以此爲鑒。等語蔑倫絕理、真同狂吠。又稱當時有一貝子終日行非理之事、福晉極力勸之、不從。一日有一羣魔鬼拉貝子下地獄。天主以福晉有德行、默啟他使知伊夫火海永遠苦難。可見不聽善勸、決不免天主永罰。等語尤爲肆口亂道。貝子福晉之稱西洋人何從知悉。自係從前與旗人往來談論知此稱號、妄行編載。事屬已往、今亦不加深究、至其所稱貝子被魔鬼拉入地獄之語皆係憑空捏撰、毫無影響。似此造作無稽充其伎倆、尙有何言不可出諸口、何事不可筆之書。

"scale. Instead therefore of allowing this case to ferment and "become a great lawsuit, due precautions should be taken. We "have already ordered Our minister Luh Khang, administrator of the "affairs of the European chapels, in concert with other magnates, "to project measures which may lead to the immediate discovery "of every case of the kind that may occur. And meanwhile special "extracts have been made from the books and writings (found in the "chapels), which by Our order have been published. Now after this "publication the Bannermen must attend with all devotion to what "the reigning dynasty has prescribed in Manchu about riding and "archery; they must study the books of our own Sages, and thus "be conducted to the observance of the classical Constant Matters. "Since even Buddhism and Taoism are untrustworthy, how much "more so is that religion of Europe. It is now of the greatest moment "to cleanse one's self of the old contagion, and not again to listen "to heretical talk, or believe in it. They who cleave to their errors "and do not awake from them, but, turning their backs upon "their duty, follow heresy, can no longer be ranked with others of "their class, and are indifferent to My earnest will, emphatically "expressed in My instructions and exhortations"¹.

Adeodato was an Italian Austin friar, who had lived in Peking for twenty-seven years. A few particulars, gathered from his own lips, about the causes of these persecutions, we find in a letter, dated 12th January 1818, of the missionary Brosnon, who met with Adeodato at Manilla (*Annales de la Foi*, IV). Disputes having arisen among the missionaries about the administration of a Christian community near Peking, Adeodato forwarded maps and other documents to the Propaganda, but these were intercepted, and delivered up to the emperor. Thereupon a mandarin, whose concubine, a Christian woman, had been admonished by Adeodato

¹ 若不及早嚴行禁止、任令傳播、設其編造之語悖謬更有重於此者、勢不得不大加懲辦。與其日後釀成巨案、莫若先事豫爲之防。前已諭令派出管理西洋堂事務之大臣祿康等公同議立章程隨時稽察。茲特揭出書籍所載各條指示申諭。嗣後旗民人等務當恪守本朝清語騎射、讀聖賢書遵守經常。釋道二氏尙不可信、況西洋教耶。亟應前除舊染、勿再聽信邪言。執迷不悟、背本從邪、自不齒於人類、有負朕諄諄訓誡至意矣。 *Shing hiun*, chap. 99.

to break off this sinful connection, convinced the emperor that the confiscated documents pointed to treason and conspiracy. Adeo-dato spent four years in exile. Brosseau's letter contains also a few notes about the ensuing persecutions and tortures, but they sadly need the complementary information furnished by the above decrees and by those yet to follow. Huc's reading regarding the cause of this persecution (IV, p. 239) does not tally with the decrees.

While the Christians were thus plunged anew into distress and woe, the authorities made the appalling discovery that the foreign heresy nestled even in the Imperial family. Nay more, some of its scions had even declared themselves ready to suffer martyrdom for their Christian faith. And this was not the first case of the kind. Frequently missionaries in their letters might speak of the conversions made among magnates and courtiers, but they also often had to describe how such high converts felt the heavy hand of the heathen despot, were banished from the court, and exiled to distant regions. Of peculiar interest in this respect are the letters of Parennin of 1724—1736, published in vol. 19 and 20 of the *Lettres Edifiantes*, and that written by Benoit in 1770, published in the 24th volume. The events of 1805 brought a repetition of such sad episodes. On the 19th of the intercalary month following after the sixth (Aug. 12) a decree was issued, reading as follows:

"The Board of Punishments reports to Us the discovery that "Khwei-min, Wo-shih-pu, T'u-khin and T'u-min secretly profess the "European religion. Over and over again the way to conversion "has been opened to them, but those convicts all the more steadfastly refuse to renounce their religion. The Board therefore "proposes that they shall be exiled to Ili, and there charged "with prejudicial and crushing functions; etc.¹

"T'u-khin and T'u-min are great-grandsons of Su-nu, who in "the Yung ching period for some crime was thrust out of "the Imperial family, and degraded to the rank of Red Girdle "nobleman. As descendants of a culprit, they ought to have "performed their duties and observed the laws; but they presumed secretly to profess the European religion, and though "the said Board repeatedly offered to them an opportunity "of conversion, they rejected its arguments, and from first to "last clung to their errors, without repenting. This is a very

¹ 刑部奏審明魁敏窩什布圖欽圖敏等私習西洋教。業經反覆開導、該犯等仍堅不出教。請將魁敏等發往伊犁、充當折磨差使、等語。

"heinous offence. They shall be divested of their dignity of Red Girdle noblemen; their names shall be erased from the Imperial family-register, and they shall be sent to Ili, where they are to wear the cangue for six months, and thereafter shall be employed for prejudicial and crushing work. Khwei-min and Wo-shih-pu likewise steadfastly declared themselves unwilling to forsake their religion, and willing to suffer punishment for it; they shall therefore be expelled from their Banner-regiment and exiled to Ili, there to be exhibited for three months with a cangue round their necks, and then to be employed for prejudicial and crushing work. T'u-khin and the three other convicts, born and grown up outside (the Court?)¹, have turned their backs upon Us and committed rebellion; therefore they shall never be set at liberty or return. The military Governor of those regions shall at all times inquire after them, and keep them under strict control and rule; and if they should run away from their place of exile, or in any other way cause trouble, he must respectfully request Our orders to put them to death"².

Then there appeared on the 12th of the eleventh month (1 Jan.) another Imperial decree referring to the persecution of Christians. "On this day", it says, "I found with all reverence in the Authentic Register of the decrees of my deceased father Kao Tsung, the Emperor Shun, that in the 49th year of the Khien lung period (1784) an Imperial decree was received from Him, reading:..... (here follows the first sentence of that decree as given on page 332, and its latter part, commencing at the fifth

¹ We doubt the correctness of this rendering of the four characters 自外生成.

² 圖欽圖敏俱係蘇努曾孫、雍正年間蘇努因犯罪黜革宗室、降爲紅帶子。是該二犯本屬罪人子孫、理宜安分守法、乃敢私習洋教、經該部再三開導、猶復始終執迷不悔。情殊可惡。圖欽圖敏著革去紅帶子、並於玉牒末除名、發往伊犁、枷號六箇月、再行充當折磨差使。魁敏窩什布亦堅稱不願出教、甘心受罪、著銷除旗檔發往伊犁、枷號三箇月、再行充當折磨差使。圖欽等四犯自外生成、情同背叛、俱永遠不准釋回。並著該將軍不時稽查、嚴加管束、如該犯等或在配脫逃、及有別項滋事之處、卽應恭請王命正法。 *Shing hiun*, 99.

line of page 334). And besides this, a decree was received from "Him respecting a communication from Sun Shi-i to the Throne that an official had brought Adeodato and three other Europeans to Peking, and that these men had been charged there with work for the Government, in which decree He proclaimed that such appointments might be stopped, and if in time to come there should be a lack and want of such men, new Imperial resolutions to that effect would have to be waited for; etc. I respectfully look up to that earnest expression of the will of My deceased father for giving instructions for the interdiction and destruction of heresy with so much severity and intelligence. And when Adeodato came to the capital to begin his work, He ordered with regard to the Europeans engaged there in Our employ, that their further appointment should be discontinued; which proves that the danger which threatens the manners and customs when Europeans settle in the country, adopt disciples, and propagate their religion, was at an early date an object of the attention of His Imperial intelligence¹.

"Kwangtung province and Macao are visited by ships from Europe, and not until the people from those countries, through these commercial visits to Kwangtung, had opened intercourse with the natives, had they an opportunity of beguiling the masses and propagating their religion. If in the province of Kwangtung the control exercised over them had really been strict enough and maintained with secrecy, how could they ever have managed surreptitiously to make their way into the interior? Since in the course of this year Ch'en Joh-wang, who carried letters for Europeans, has been arrested in Kiangsi (p. 387), and also the Shansi man Li Jü has brought in the European Joh-o-king (?) to propagate his religion, it has been probed to the very root and clearly ascertained that such things do occur,

¹ 本日朕恭閱皇考高宗純皇帝實錄乾隆四十九年十一月內欽奉聖諭....又奉聖諭以孫士毅奏委員伴送西洋人德天賜等四人進京、已敷當差、嗣後可無庸選派、俟將來人少需用之時另行聽候諭旨等因。仰見皇考禁絕邪說訓誡嚴明至意。當德天賜等進京効力之時、在京西洋人已敷當差即諭令停止選派、可見西洋人等來至內地授徒傳教爲害風俗早在聖明鑒察之中。

"and punishment has been inflicted separately upon everyone. Now
"in future the Viceroy and the Governor (of Kwangtung) shall in-
"struct their Prefects to exercise a strict control over the Europeans
"in the Macao district; apart from the merchants, they shall forth-
"with prevent all who secretly prowl about preaching religious books
"or spreading their religion from doing so, and they shall not let
"them stealthily decamp to other provinces, to cause disorder
"there and fan the fire of seduction. Such natives as might secretly
"fetch them into the country, shall be forthwith sought, arrested
"and punished, in order that others may be deterred.

"At the same time the people shall be informed by procla-
"mation that the laws forbidding the European heretical religion
"are extremely severe; that they must therefore beware of being
"befooled and misled by it, and thus running into the net of the
"law. By this means the ignorant people, who know no better, shall
"be made to understand that they must apply themselves to a life
"of integrity, and thus keep at a safe distance from all punishment;
"then the Europeans will find no one to seduce with their pipes
"and drums; then the chapels they have erected will disappear of
"themselves, even without their continuance being forbidden. This
"is the proper way gradually to get rid of this religion, and with
"silent drum to bring about a change for good. The Viceroy and
"the Governor (in Canton) shall take proper measures for a truly
"energetic control (over foreigners), which may lead to the exter-
"mination of the evil, root and stem; thus they shall keep the
"road, upon which the people walk, in the orthodox direction,
"which, moreover, is the most important part of their task in
"correcting and ruling the manners and customs"¹.

1 粵省澳門地方洋船往來、該國人等自因赴廣貿易與內地民人勾結、始能惑衆傳教。如果粵省稽察嚴密、何至私越內地乎。本年因江西省拏獲爲西洋人送信之陳若望、及山西省民人李如接引西洋人若亞敬傳教等案、業經根訊明確、分別懲創。嗣後著該督撫等飭知地方官於澳門地方嚴查西洋人等、除貿易而外、如有私行逗遛講經傳教等事、即隨時飭禁、勿任潛赴他省致滋煽誘。其有內地民人暗爲接引者、即當訪拏懲辦、庶知儆懼。

並當曉諭民人等以西洋邪教例禁綦嚴、不可

Now for an interval of about six years we find no decrees bearing upon persecution of Christians. Then in 1811, on the 29th day of the fifth month (July 18), "the emperor decreed to the Chancery, that the Board of Punishments had sent in the following advice and reply concerning a memorial presented to the Throne by the Censor Kan Kia-pin, in which he proposed that special laws should be enacted for the punishment of Europeans preaching their religion: —

"The people in Europe are wont to worship the Lord of Heaven, and when, as inhabitants of that region, they spread and practised that religion here among themselves, they were from the outset permitted to do so, and not prosecuted for it. But if they swindle and mislead the natives with it, and in the worst case arbitrarily appoint native pastors and other title-bearers, or spread over the various provinces, this certainly involves a serious violation of the law. And if natives living in peace, are seduced and misled by them to such an extent that they propagate that religion among themselves, and can no more escape from its net of deception, what is this but wild opposition? Let us remember that this religion does not profess the worship of any gods, nor the veneration of ancestors or the dead, and therefore overtly opposes the orthodox Tao; so, when the natives listen to it and follow it, spread and observe it, accept its falsehoods, and put up title-bearers, is this anything short of opposition and rebellion? If no rigorous laws are made to punish such things on a large scale, how can these heresies be put a stop to, and the human hearts be kept orthodox?"¹

受其愚惑、致蹈法網。俾無知愚民各知遷善遠罪、則西洋人等自無所肆其簧鼓、即舊設有天主堂之處亦不禁而自絕。此尤潛移默化之方。該督撫等惟當善爲經理實力稽查、絕其根株、正其趨向、亦整飭風俗之要務也。 *Shing hiun*, 99.

¹ 上諭內閣刑部議覆御史甘家斌奏請嚴定西洋人傳教治罪專條一摺。

西洋人素奉天主、其本國之人自行傳習原可置之不問。至若誑惑內地民人、甚至私立神甫等項名號、蔓延各省、實屬大干法紀。而內地民人安心被其誘惑遞相傳授、迷罔不解、豈不荒悖。試思其教不敬神明、不奉祖先、顯畔正道、內地

"Henceforth, if Europeans print religious writings, or found communities for preaching, thereby poisoning and misleading many; or if Bannermen turn to the Europeans, and become promulgators for them, privately appointing titularies, so that the fire of error reaches the masses, — then, if sure and reliable proofs exist, the penalty of strangulation must be prescribed for the chief culprits, with immediate execution. For propagandists who fanned the fire of error, but without misleading people in great numbers and without employing any title-bearers, the punishment to be fixed shall be strangulation, with reprieve of execution until after the revision of their sentence. And simple followers who embraced that religion and did not mean to apostatize, shall be sent up to Heh-lung-kiang, to be given in slavery to the Solon Tartars; and if they are Bannermen, they shall at the same time be expelled from their Banner-regiment¹.

"And with regard to the Europeans now living in Peking, they shall be charged only with astronomical calculations at the Bureau for the Observation of the Heavens, for they possess no other abilities to render service to the Government. And they who have no knowledge of astronomy, why allow them to live here with the others and provoke trouble? The ministers entrusted with the administration of that Bureau shall forthwith make investigation on this head; those in employ for astronomical work at the Bureau for the Observation of the Heavens can be left in office, but the other Europeans shall be sent to the Viceroy of the two Kwang, who as soon as a ship from their country calls at Canton shall send them back therein to their own land. And the Europeans who remain in Peking in Government employ, shall be kept under control with increased strictness, in order that their intercourse with Bannermen may be effectually stopped, and the poison emanating from them

民人聽從傳習、受其詭、立名號、此與悖逆何異。若不嚴定科條大加懲創、何以杜邪術而正人心。

¹ 嗣後西洋人有私自刊刻經卷、倡立講會、蠱惑多人、及旗民人等向西洋人轉爲傳習、並私立名號、煽惑及衆、確有實據、爲首者竟當定爲絞決。其傳教煽惑而人數不多、亦無名號者、著定爲絞候。其僅止聽從入教不知悛改者、發往黑龍江、給索倫達呼爾爲奴、旗人銷去旗檔。

"be kept away from the provincial districts. Since Europeans are no more wanted in Government employ, why should they be allowed to go there by stealth and spread their heretical religion? Every Viceroy or Governor shall strictly examine with all his energy whether any such be roaming about in his jurisdiction, in which case he shall immediately track them, arrest them, and prosecute them one by one, in order to purify both root and stem"¹.

This Imperial summons to commence a hunt for missionaries throughout the empire could not fail to arouse the mandarinatry everywhere from its usual Wu-wei torpor, and caused a broad wave of official ardour, which rolled even as far as western Tibet. There, with childish credulity and typical mistrust, the official world, for lack of any European missionaries, laid hands upon a Hindostan native traveller, foolishly suspecting him of being a Christian spy or agent. This curious incident is brought to our knowledge by the following Imperial decree of the 14th of the twelfth month of that same Chinese year (Jan. 27, 1812), addressed to the Council of State:

"Yang Ch'un reports, that a stranger from the Calcutta territory, Malin by name, accompanied by the Chinese Chao Kin-siu as interpreter, arrived in Tsang (Tibet), to worship Buddha. The said Imperial Resident finding that this man both in face and general appearance resembled a European, supposed him to be a Christian using the worship of Buddha as a pretext for spreading his religion in secret; etc."²

1 至西洋人現在居住京師者、不過令其在欽天監推步天文、無他技藝足供差使。其不諳天文者何容任其間住滋事。著該管大臣等即行查明、除在欽天監有推步天文差使者、仍令供職外、其餘西洋人俱著發交兩廣總督、俟有該國船隻到粵附、便遣令歸國。其在京當差之西洋人仍當嚴加約束、禁絕旗民往來、以杜流毒至直省地方。更無西洋人應當差役、豈得容其潛往傳習邪教。著各該督撫等實力嚴查、如有在境逗遛者、立即查拏、分別辦理、以淨根株。 *Shing hiun*, 100.

2 陽春等奏噶哩噶達部落夷人馬吝、帶同通事漢人趙金秀、到藏朝佛。該大臣等察看馬吝面貌光景與西洋人相似、恐其素習天主教、假借朝佛之名希圖暗中傳教等語。

"His suspicion is quite just and right, for of late years the European foreigners have spread everywhere to promulgate the heretical religion of the Lord of Heaven, with the object of fanning the fire of error; thus their work is highly disturbing to the peace, and must be counteracted strenuously and with more resoluteness. The land of Calcutta, whence that stranger Malin professes to have come, is situated on the sea-road to Europe, and thus far Buddhism is not believed there, nor observed. The fact that he has travelled all this long distance to west Tsang, proves that, under the pretext of worshipping Buddha, he has come to spy whether there might be a crevice somewhere that could be used to creep in for propagating his religion and misleading the people. He shall therefore no longer be tolerated in Tsang. Hu-t'u-li shall forthwith drive this foreigner across the borders, and also send instructions to all karuns (frontier-stations) in Tsang and Wei, to take the necessary precautions as soon as this stranger shall have been taken across the borders, to prevent him from slipping in again. And henceforth, if any barbarian from Europe, whoever he be, comes to Tsang under pretext of worshipping Buddha, measures shall be taken everywhere to stop him and send him back; such persons shall not be permitted to cross the borders, and so the growing up of treason shall be prevented. That Chinese traitor Chao Kin-siu, who as a native travelled from Peking to Kwangtung, and from there crossed two oceans, afterwards to penetrate deep into Tsang in company with that foreigner, belongs in the highest sense of the word to the most heinous criminals. Let him be delivered into the hands of Shang Ming (Viceroy of Szé-ch'wen), who after a rigorous examination shall pronounce the severest sentence upon him, and send Us a circumstantial report of his doings in this matter"¹.

¹ 所慮甚是、近來西洋夷人散布各處傳習天主邪教意圖煽惑、甚不安分、必應加意嚴防。夷人馬吝據稱係噶哩噶達部落、其地濱海路通西洋、向不信奉佛教。今迂道遠赴西藏、顯係託名朝佛潛來窺伺或有隙可乘即漸圖傳教惑衆。斷不可任其久留藏中。著瑚圖禮等即將該夷人驅逐出境、並通飭藏衛各卡倫於該夷人出墳後隨時防範勿令再行混入。嗣後如有西洋一帶夷人以朝

About the persecution of Christians within the confines of the empire proper we find in the *Shing hiun* only two decrees, but these suffice to show that about that time they were hunted down energetically. The first decree is of the 20th of the second month (Apr. 1). "According to a memorial of the Upper Censor 'Ho Hioh-lin', thus runs its preamble, "it has come to his knowledge by hearsay, that in Kweichow, in all villages where "propagation of Christianity takes place, people congregate by "dozens at once, nay, even by hundreds and more. Outside the "north gate of the capital of that province still worse things occur. "And in the department of Szě-cheu and elsewhere there are "scoundrels who form bands, each occupying a den or grotto, "and entice thither married and unmarried women; and when "they have brought together some dozens of them, they sell "them in Hunan and Kiangsi. The Prefects do not track and "prosecute those people; etc."¹ Of course the emperor does not place one whit less belief in what his high Censor has learned from hearsay, than this grandee himself. Those Christians, as well as those kidnappers, he decrees, are two classes of rebellious people (兩種匪徒) who club together more and more. That they are found in Szě-cheu, far from the provincial capital, may be the fault of the Prefects in function there; but that Christianity prevails so close to that capital, it is rather too bad that the Governor residing there has never discovered it! He and his subordinates shall search the whole of his dominion for scoundrels of both these categories; by severely sentencing the chief culprits he shall force the accomplices and adherents to turn from their evil ways; and thus by an efficient cleansing-process peace shall be restored in his territory.

The other decree, dated the 16th of the fifth month (13 June)

佛爲名前來藏地、卽概行阻回、毋令入境以杜奸萌。其漢奸趙金秀以內地民人由京師至廣東、渡越重洋、隨夷人深入藏地、甚屬可惡。著解交常明嚴審、從重定擬、具奏。 *Shing hiun*, 100.

¹ 據給事中何學林奏風聞貴州傳習天主教各鄉聚集數十人及百餘人不等。省城之北門外尤甚。又思州府等處有成群拐匪、各據巢穴誘拐婦女、至數十人卽販往湖南江西發賣。地方官俱不行查辦等語。 *Shing hiun*, 100.

1813, informs us of a simultaneous persecution of Christians in the province of Hupeh. "Ma Hwui-yü (the Viceroy, see p. 374) "asks Us in a missive whether Christians by birth, if they "renounce that religion and personally announce this to the "authorities after the expiration of the term appointed for it, "can still claim exemption from punishment. He mentions one "Liu I and eight other natives of the district of King-shan in "Hupeh (map p. 352), who have reported themselves as having "professed the Christian faith transmitted to them by their fathers "and grandfathers; now since a series of searches for such people "have taken place in the wards, and people have read to one "another the decrees published on this head, these persons have "come to the tribunal to report themselves, showing regret "and repentance; but this has taken place after the fixed term "of one year had expired. These criminals however are farmers "of a far distant village, who, because these rescripts could not "come any sooner to their knowledge, have let the appointed "term expire; — and as they came to denounce themselves, and "thus honestly fear the laws, their conversion seems more real "and serious than that of those who repent after being discovered "and brought before the magistrate. Shall they therefore be exempt "from punishment, or not? Etc. '.

"In this lawsuit, Liu I with those other persons came to "report themselves for fear of the law; the year's term had "in fact elapsed, but it is not as if they had shown regret after "being arrested and brought before the magistrate. Among the "articles fixed by the Board of Punishments for the punishment "of propagation and profession of Christianity, the clause occurs "that they who within one year come to repentance and leave "that religion, shall be exempt from punishment, but that, if they "appear before the magistrate after that term is passed, and then "repent themselves, they shall be let off with a lighter punishment, viz. bastinado and exile. This Liu I and his eight com-

1 馬慧裕等奏、沿習天主教、限外改悔呈首、可否邀免治罪一摺。據稱湖北京山縣民劉義等九名呈明伊等自祖父相沿習天主教、今因編查保甲、傳誦示諭、俱投案自首、具結改悔、但在一年限外。該犯等係遠鄉農民、未能早知例禁致逾定限、其自行投首、畏法輸誠、較事發到官改悔者似更真切。可否免其治罪等語。

"panions, who have this time come to denounce themselves, shall altogether receive grace and exemption from punishment. And if hereafter professors or propagandists of Christianity are arrested after the expiration of the legally appointed term, and only then come to repentance, they shall be punished according to the supplementary article of the Law (against Heresy); but they who voluntarily report their apostasy, shall even after the expiration of the appointed time be exempt altogether from punishment. And the Board of Punishments shall once more comment the supplementary law on this head clearly and in detail, and send it (amended) to the several provinces, in order that justice be done everywhere in accordance with the same"¹.

The quintessence of this decree we find inserted in the Law against Heresy in various editions of the Code, to serve the mandarinates as a constant guide for analogous cases. We may therefore suppose it to have been in force ever since, till the persecutions of Christians were checked by foreign influence.

The anti-Christian crusades, into which the foregoing pages have granted us a superficial glance, alternated with persecution of native religions, which we may not pass in silence. The mysterious Ts'iao-ts'iao sect in Shensi, persecuted in 1788 in so many districts, and doomed to extermination by special order of the Son of Heaven (see p. 326), had outlived that storm, and in 1804 or 1805 encountered a second hurricane, which perhaps swept it from the earth for good, for we do not read another word about it in any Chinese book or official document.

¹ 此案劉義等畏法自首、雖在一年限外、然較之拏獲到官始行改悔者情節不同。刑部原定傳習天主教治罪條例內載、能於一年限內改悔出教者免罪、已過定限到官後始行悔悟者減爲杖徒。所有此次投首之劉義等九人均著施恩免罪。嗣後傳習天主教之人於例限外拏獲後始行改悔者、仍當照例治罪、其有自行投首出教者、雖經逾限、概予免罪。著刑部再將例文分晰詳明、通行各直省、一體遵照辦理。 Chap. 49.

Sun Tan-kan 孫膽敢, thus we read in a decree of the 21st day of the fifth moon of the year 1805 (*S.h. h. 99*), a disciple of one Wang Fuh-lin 王伏林 who had been executed, was found in possession of a heretical work containing a calculation of kalpas, as also a statement about swords and arms, and about stars and constellations that would come down. He called himself Maitreya incarnate on this earth. The sect had instituted three tribes or schools (宗), with five branches or affluents (派) which had enlisted a great many people, using secret signs to recognize one another everywhere, for mutual help and support. "Thus, evidently, they conspired to commit irregularities or acts of rebellion; but there was more: — under pretence of distributing medicines, they licentiously indulged in prostitution with married and unmarried women. But the worst of all the enormities they committed was this: they tried to make foolish folk in their ignorance the victims of their false imposture, so that these brought their families and kinspeople with them to attend their readings of holy books; and thus they were the cause of many housewives and daughters of fashionable families being defiled, nay, where refused, forcibly fornicated. The things that were concealed and borne cannot well be put into words; but now a complete prosecution having been opened, and the rumours of their enormities having spread abroad, some of those wives and daughters have been questioned under torture by their husbands or fathers who had heard of the matter. They had patiently endured their sufferings and hidden the ill-treatment, or even caused their own death, while others had felt momentary fits of shame or indignation, but could not prevent all these things taking place, and thus had remained the accomplices of those crimes"....¹

This concoction of street-rumours formed the bill of indictment drawn up by a credulous or malicious Viceroy, Fang Wei-tien

1 其謀爲不軌逆蹟顯然、且以傳丹爲名、肆意姦淫婦女。其作孽甚重、試思愚民無知受其誑惑、攜同眷屬前往聽經、以致良家婦女身被姦污、其不甘被污者勢必受其逼勒凌辱。含忍難言、今全案已破、醜聲播揚、此等婦女或被其尊長本夫聞知拷問。負楚含冤致斃、或一時羞忿輕生、種種情事皆所不免而從犯。

方維甸, against the Ts'iao-t'siao sect believing in the advent of Maitreya, the Buddhist Messiah, and making the two sexes together seek Salvation in pious congregation. This web of fable, invented or blindly believed by a stupid mob, and trumped up by no less stupid or devilish scoundrels and mandarins thirsting for pecuniary reward or promotion, was the ground on which once again human lives — no one knows how many — were sacrificed to the Moloch of intolerance in Confucius' holy name. But let us peruse the edict to its end. Shih Ts'zë 石慈, condemned to decapitation, shall, as proposed by the Board of Punishments, be brought under the Law on Rebellion, and be slashed to death (comp. p. 254). Wang Hwa-cheu 王化周, Chang T'ien-tso 張添佐, and Shih Ming 石明, respectively chiefs of the three "tribes", shall be beheaded immediately and their heads exposed in public, and the same punishment shall be inflicted on the teachers (師) of the five "branches". Six others, not convicted of any irregularities with the women, but having misled others with their heresy, shall be strangled after the revision of their sentences in autumn; etc. Of the other victims of this campaign, who no doubt were numerous, the edict tells us nothing.

That same Chinese year did not elapse without an attempt at rebellion in the north of Nganhui province, in a region bordering — as a glance at the map on page 298 shows — on the parts of Honan where we have already more than once seen the sects persecuted and in a state of activity and fermentation, and also near the parts of Shantung and Chihli where it flourished and prevailed likewise. This rising however was a total failure. Evidently Sectarianism was not yet ripe there for revolt on so large a scale as had burst out in 1774 under Wang Lun, or like that which was to rage again with no less violence, seven years later, in adjacent districts of Honan.

In the department of Suh 宿, we are informed by a decree of the 1st of the twelfth month (21 Jan. 1806), the people rose under the lead of one Yü Lien 余連. The rebels moved to the city of Mung 蒙, where others, under Fan Niu 樊牛, joined them, but they were dispersed by the Government troops, partly captured, partly slain or put to flight. The decree gives us some Imperial considerations about these events, from which we learn that this was a rebellion of sectaries; but it contains no particulars, nor do we find any elsewhere in the *Shing hui*. His Majesty asks for information about these sects, and wants to know from the highest provincial authorities what kind of things and writings

had been found in the houses of the culprits, why they had rebelled, and so forth; but nowhere do we find any answer. Of course the stereotyped Imperial order is not wanting, that justice shall be done with the uttermost rigour of the law, nor the admonition to abstain from imprudent prosecution which might provoke worse rebellion and create dangers for the Government.

Finally we have to notice a persecution in Szĥ-ch'wen, of which the followers of the prophet Lo Hwai were the victims. The Viceroy Shang Ming (p. 402), according to an Imperial decree of the 6th of the second month (March 17) 1812, had laid hands upon "the heretical religion of the Old Patriarch of the Wu-wei" (無爲老祖邪教), communities of which, as he wrote to the emperor, had existed in his province even before the Great Rebellion. They worshipped gods and buddhas, nay, even soul-tablets (龍牌) of the emperor Shing Tsu, which iniquity was now being persecuted by the Prefects. Since the quenching of the Great Rebellion that Viceroy had heard nothing about revival of sects, but rigorous measures were now taken against them. The emperor gives his high sanction to all this, and expresses his special disapproval of that arrogant veneration of the tablets of his holy ancestors by the common people, a veneration even disallowed to princes and magnates. Shang Ming shall order his Prefects severely to prohibit such practices by proclamation throughout their jurisdictions (*S.h.* 100).

CHAPTER XIV.

THE REBELLION OF 1813.

Sufficient proof has been afforded by the foregoing pages, that the Government of China after the quenching of the great rebellion in the western provinces did not mean to forego one single item of the old prosecution-politics, and with an obstinacy worthy of a better cause, did not budge one inch from the ancient path of Confucian orthodoxy, where every germ of any other than the official religion must be mercilessly trodden down and extirpated. As the persecuting mandarinat continued to scatter broadcast the seeds of unrest, fear and agitation, new sedition and revolt could not fail to be produced. By sowing wind, the Government reaped a hurricane, which broke forth in 1813 in north-eastern Honan, and swept over the adjacent southerly projection of Chihli and the conterminous extreme south-west of Shantung, that is to say (comp. page 335 and the map on page 298), it rose and raged in the region quite close to the scene of the rebellion of Wang Lun, of the persecutions and mutiny of the Eight Diagrams' sect in 1786, and undoubtedly of many other persecutions about which we have not read.

There is sufficient official evidence that this new revolt was preceded, and probably provoked, by persecutions of peculiar rigour, of which, however, as usual, the decrees do not convey to us the full import and significance. On the 8th day of the fifth month (June 16), 1812, a decree appeared (*Sh. l.* 100), mentioning that Wen Ch'ing-hwui 溫承惠, the Viceroy of Chihli, had reported that in the district of Kū-luh 鉅鹿, situated north of the scene of the events of 1774 and 1786 (map, p. 298), a religion had been discovered consisting of several communities; their leader Liu Kwoh-ming 劉國名 and others occupied themselves with bill-sticking and publishing religious writings, and they had seals cut in wood. Those culprits having been arrested, the confession had been forced from them that, exasperated by the execution of one of their sect, Sun Wei-kien 孫維儉 by name, they had resolved to make a false Imperial seal, and to send a fellow sectary, Wang Sin-ching

王心正, to Peking, to publish the wrongs done to them, and thus make their heretical religion rise again. In the previous year, the emperor declares, this Sun Wei-kien has indeed been strangled in that district for "misleading the multitude by the promulgation of his religion" (傳教惑衆), and several of his followers have been prosecuted and exiled; and the Viceroy then also informed the Throne that on that occasion sixteen hundred principal sectaries were registered by him, name and surname, but had not been further prosecuted; — "this indulgence and laxity proceeding from "carelessness and neglect, might be called the encouraging of "trifling offences in the people, in order to let them grow into "violation of the laws" (本屬從輕失之寬縱、所謂水懦民玩、轉令易於犯法). Against such conspiracy as that of Liu Kwoh-ming and his adherents, and the making of Imperial seals and seals of wood — against such incorrigible obdurateness, rigorous measures shall be taken, for should the Viceroy practise leniency a second time, the consequences will go beyond his control. A search shall be made for Chang Kiu-ch'ing 張九成, who first started the idea of making an Imperial seal, and fled to Shantung; instructions for his arrest and extradition to Chihli have already been sent to Tung Hing 同興, the Governor of that province. And all heretics in custody shall be strictly examined and severely sentenced by the Viceroy of Chihli, as a warning to the people and a preventive against further heretical crimes.

This Imperial disavowal of the politics of a Viceroy who presumably had deemed some caution and leniency preferable to rebellion, would have its fatal results. The registration of heretics, in itself a token of unsuitable leniency to the emperor's mind, had no doubt quite another meaning in the eyes of the heretics themselves; they could not but look upon it as a preparation of persecutions on a large scale, as a wide-open door for incessant annoyance and extortions on the part of the yamen-brood. Whether the poor sects actually resolved on an organized rebellion, as the confessions extorted from some of them made their persecutors believe; whether indeed they drew the bonds which united them, still closer together to that end; whether the crime of Liu Kwoh-ming and Chang Kiu-ch'ing was merely propagandism and distribution of religious writings, — who can say? Be this as it may, the fact remains that the Government was busily engaged in stirring up the heretics to self-defence.

Nine days after the publication of the above decree, the emperor sent a second one to the Council of State, giving therein a summary of

a memorial from the Viceroy of Chihli, in which this grandee stated that he had vigorously set to work against the Kū-luh heretics, and had found occasion to extend his prosecutions into other parts of his province. In its north-easterly corner, in the department of Lwan 瀛, conterminous with the Ch'ang-li district or the seat of the pontiff of the Wang tribe (see p. 295), one Tung Hwai-sin 董懷信 had a father, Tung T'ai 董太, who in 1773 had for his teacher one Chang Yung 張榮 and made propagation for the sect of the Golden Life-elixir and the Eight Diagrams (金丹八卦教). In 1797 a son of this Chang Yung, Chang Szě-shing 張思勝, by name, together with Tung T'ai, collected voluntary gifts in the district of Mih-yun 密雲 for the rebuilding of a temple. The Prefect of this district on this ground forthwith sentenced them to exile, without discovering anything about their connection with sects. After this event, Tung Hwai-sin and a certain Yü Wang-yuh 余旺玉 still persisted in misleading the people and collecting contributions, and left the administration of the subdivision of the Eight Diagrams sect to Lin Tszě-kwei 林自貴 and others. But the Prefect of Lwan suspected mischief, and arrested Tung Hwai-sin. With him some papers fell into his hands, with a register of names, from which it appeared that the sect under the previous emperor had enlisted 2200 male and female members, and under the present ruler 2900. Against these people the Viceroy in his own person had instituted severe arrests and prosecutions.

"Since the thirty-eighth year of the Khien lung period (1773)", thus laments the emperor, "that is; for forty years, these riotous 'folks have established their heretical religion even in the demesnes 'round the capital, beguiling the multitude and levying contributions; and not until now are prosecutions opened against them! "When the sect first made its appearance, no more than from "three to five individuals, the tares, fanned the fire of seduction by "means of heresies, and if the authorities had only searched them "out and arrested them with due zeal, this mischief would have "forthwith been cut away and cleansed out, and the matter "prosecuted easily. But the evil spread without anybody perceiving "it; the flowing poison was allowed to be gradually transmitted "and to expand for several dozen years, so that the adherents of "that religion became over five thousand in number, and this number "became an obstacle against complete prosecution¹.

¹ 畿輔重地有此匪徒倡立邪教惑眾斂錢、自乾

“During the last forty years it has also been by leniency and tolerance that the high mandarins all alike have shown themselves deficient in loyalty; this is really fit to fill Us with painful indignation. It is now the same as before with those heretical rebels in the three (western) provinces: these also at first did nothing but recite sacred books and collect contributions, but in the end, when their clubs had become numerous and the Prefects took wrong measures to search them out and arrest them, the ferment ripened, and the rebellion began.

“The said Tung Hwai-sin and the other headmen captured with him, must be prosecuted in the most severe manner. And the rulers of the various Diagrams or divisions of their religion, their helpers, propagandists and other principals, shall all be tracked and captured, and sentenced with the uttermost rigour of the law. No leniency or tolerance shall be shown again, and if you cannot make up your mind to inflict corporal punishments, why not shave your head and become a monk? Since you are inscribed in the register of the official world, you must consider the cause of the Dynasty as the most important cause; why then hold views fit only for a harem? ¹

“There are no rational reasons at all to track and arrest those five thousand and more persons mentioned in their registers, to the full number. For if the Prefects of departments and districts take wrong measures of prosecution, or their lictors and police-

隆三十八年至今已及四十年、現始破案。此在初起之時不過三五莠民邪說煽誘、如地方官留心查拏、立時翦除淨盡、原屬易辦之事。乃漫無覺察、聽其流毒數十年漸傳漸廣、以至從教者至五千餘人之多、礙難全辦。

¹ 四十年以來一味因循姑息、歷任大員均無良心、實堪痛恨。卽如從前三省邪匪、其初亦不過念經斂錢、迨黨與既多、州縣官查拏不善、遂至釀成亂階。

今董懷信等爲首各犯俱經拏獲、務須從嚴懲辦。其教內分管卦宮、及幫同傳教緊要之人俱當按名查緝務獲、依律重懲。不可又存姑息、若不忍用刑、何不削髮出家。既登任版、當以國事爲重、豈可存婦寺之見。

"men act out of enmity and let persons go free for bribes, or annoy and worry at random, then certainly they will create excitement and cause rebellion. The Viceroy shall immediately search out and quickly catch their chiefs and the main culprits only, condemn them to the most severe punishments, and send Us a full report of his proceedings. And as for those who had only joined that religion, according to his own proposal, he shall sharply order that after the conclusion of the lawsuit all their books and charms be confiscated and delivered up, and that they who voluntarily recant shall be registered with their names and surnames, to control them continuously, and punish them as soon as they sin again"¹.

This decree ends with the communication that a special Imperial resolution has been issued, to the effect that the Council of State with the Board of Civil Office shall inquire into the conduct of the Viceroys, Lieutenant-Governors, and provincial Chief Judges who have been in office in Chihli since the emperor's accession to the throne, and shall propose them for punishment.

With this humane edict the crowned fanatic from his high throne hounded on the Viceroy of Chihli with his Prefects and all their yamen-rabble and soldiery against the heretical people. They shall not by their cruel work drive their victims to desperate revolt; they shall only, by bloody inquisition and judicial terrorism, nip in the bud, before it has time to expand, all opposition, which the emperor in imagination sees rising up on all sides. Will these tactics succeed? Or will history repeat itself, and the north-eastern provinces, like those in the west a dozen years ago, become a prey to devastation and slaughter? History will indeed repeat itself, but fortunately within a much narrower compass.

The arrests were accompanied by house-searching on a large scale for certain dangerous pamphlets or posters (榜文), a measure which could hardly fail to work as oil thrown into a fire. We hear of this by a decree of the 25th of the same fifth

¹ 至冊載五千餘人斷無悉數查拏之理。若州縣官辦理不善、或胥役人等仇扳賄縱、紛紛滋擾、必致激成事端。著該督即將首要各犯迅速嚴拏重懲定擬具奏。其僅止入教者即照所請俟定案後剴切曉諭收繳經符令出、其改悔甘結仍存記姓名、時時稽察、有犯即懲。 *Shing hiun*, 100.

month (3 July), issued on account of a memorial presented to the emperor by the Board of Punishments. In Peking a certain Sun P'eng 孫朋 had been arrested, a man of Kū-luh, who at the execution of Sun Wei-kien (see p. 409) had renounced his sect, but had not destroyed all the pamphlets in his possession, the Prefect in his proclamations not having commanded this. Now when in the fourth month of the current year the Prefect reopened the persecutions, fear kept him from delivering up those documents, and he took them to Peking, with the object of handing them over to the city authorities, but again his courage drooped, so that they were still in his possession when he was arrested and delivered up to the Board. Doubtless — the emperor moans — such pamphlets are secreted by the people in large quantities. However necessary it may be that they should be utterly destroyed, it is impossible to make house-searches everywhere, because the yamen-people might find occasion therein for such vexation and extortion as would lead to exasperation and rebellion; and, while the real heretics would bribe them and thus escape unhurt, the innocent would be the sufferers. Sun P'eng shall be set at liberty, and the people shall be informed by the Viceroy everywhere by proclamations, that whosoever hands over the pamphlets to the magistrate, shall be exempt from prosecution, but that every one with whom such papers should be found, shall be severely punished as a sect-leader.

Unfortunately we are told nothing about the contents of these pamphlets. On the 4th of the seventh month (9 Aug.) the emperor in a decree once more refers to this real or imaginary conspiracy. The Viceroy, it says, has pronounced the necessary sentences and placed them before the Board of Punishments for confirmation, which Ministry in its turn has made final proposals to the emperor regarding the same. In the country round the capital — thus His Majesty declares — manners and customs should be abundant and pure, for the fundamental principles of government are perfectly pure, and cannot permit even a suspicion of heretical evil to pollute the people. The chief culprit, Tung Hwai-sin, propagated the sect of the Golden Elixir and the Eight Diagrams; he sold amulets and misled the people. But that more than 5100 persons of both sexes were enlisted in this sect, was the fault of the Prefects, who did not understand how to lead the people aright, nor prosecuted the evil-doers with the necessary secrecy and severity. The chief criminals, now in the hands of the authorities, shall undergo the penalties pronounced upon them, and of those 5100 members the sacred writings and the charms

they bought shall be confiscated, and they themselves registered and placed under regular control, to prevent their falling again into heresies. But the authorities shall guard against the policemen and yamen-people worrying and black-mailing the people to such an extent as to provoke rebellion, or to make the prosecution a matter of bribery, causing the offenders to go free and the innocent to suffer. Measures shall be taken to enable all the people, once acquainted with the contents of the proclamations issued for that purpose, voluntarily to give up their heretical papers for destruction; a term of six or twelve months shall be allowed to them, and if after that time such papers should still be found with them, they shall be severely punished. The books and papers thus delivered up shall be sent by the Prefects to the Viceroy, who shall examine and destroy them.

The decrees preserve a strict silence about the sentences pronounced, but no doubt the drama was as bloody as ever. We have to take into account the effect of a registration which made thousands fall a prey to the unconscionable practices of the mandarinates; the remembrance of the intolerable persecutions which in 1774 drove the people to rebellion; and lastly the events of 1786, of which the elder among the leaders must have been painfully reminded. Is it surprising that thousands were seized with panic? that fright and dismay, as well as exasperation against the unrelenting, bloody arch-persecutor, grew from day to day? That the Imperial Government itself apprehended a near explosion is as clear as the day from the edicts now opened before the reader. But this danger evidently did not for a moment deter it from its cruel work; on the contrary.

The edict which the emperor, at the proposal of the Censor Yeh Shao-khwei 葉紹揅, on the 13th of the sixth month (21 July) hurled amongst these seething masses, was certainly little calculated to soothe the spirit of rebellion. In it he once more exposed his standpoint of heretic-hunter, and therefore it has its value as touch-stone for the correctness of our definition of the same. Literally it ran as follows:

"Since the times of antiquity, when the Saints and Sages instituted their doctrines and emphatically preached the mutual relationships between the different classes of mankind, the relation between sovereign and ministers and that between father and son, and the innate spirit of benevolence, righteousness, observation of the established rules of social life, and knowledge, became the only unalterable line of conduct for ten thousand generations. All this the Imperial reigns have culti-

"vated and expounded, and the Confucian teachers and scholars (the shi and the jü, see p. 13 and 14) have preached and practised; this then they have positively made the standard of orthodoxy (ching). Other doctrines, such as the two religions (Taoism and Buddhism), although not esteemed by Confucianists, can be reckoned to belong to what the Book of Yü has in view in speaking of happiness obtained by following the Tao, and misfortune created by opposing it¹, since they profess to encourage what is good, and to reprove what is evil. Hence places of sacrifice devoted to (Taoist) gods and to buddhas are allotted a place in the Canon of Sacrifices (p. 25), and it is not prohibited by law to look up to them and venerate them, to pray to them and to invoke them. But when a religion is established and clandestinely transmitted from one to another, with cunning and mysterious ways under constant fear of detection, then this begins with one or two scoundrels taking the initiative for the fabrication of heresies, with the mere object of making proselytes and collecting contributions; but the stupid people in their ignorance, beguiled by their tales about misfortune and happiness, deliver their practices from one to another, and the erring victims no longer know how to return. At first they do not mind that the raising of contributions ruins them and fills the pockets of those principal miscreants; but when at last these are tracked and brought to justice by the authorities, then the band of followers together with the chief culprits are caught in the net of the law, and misfortune being thus brought upon many people, they deserve deep commiseration².

1 The Book of Yü is the second book of the *Shu*. In it we read: "Yü (the emperor of antiquity, mentioned p. 11) spoke: Accordance with the Course (Tao) gives happiness; the following of the contrary is misfortune, as surely as a shadow follows the object) and an echo (the sound)" 惠迪吉、從逆凶、惟影響。

2 自古聖賢立教、惇敘彝倫、惟君臣父子之經仁義禮智之性爲萬世不易之道。朝廷之所修明、師儒之所講習、必以此爲正軌。他如二氏之學、雖儒者弗尚、以其法歸於勸善懲惡、亦猶虞書迪吉逆凶之義。故神佛祠宇列入祀典、瞻禮祈禱亦律所弗禁。至若創立教名、私相授受、行蹤詭祕、惟恐人知、斯則始於一二奸民倡爲邪說、其意專在傳徒斂錢、而愚民無知惑於禍福之說、輾轉傳習、迷不知返。其初不惜捐資破產、飽首惡之囊橐、

"And so, of late years reports come in to Us frequently from Chihli, Kiangsi and Fuhkien, from Kwangtung and Kwangsi, from Kweichou and other provinces, about the prosecution of heretical religions and seditious societies. The causes of such lawsuits are not always similar, but they generally correspond in the way in which ignorant people are seduced. When measures of prosecution have been taken against such foolish folk, it is no longer possible to punish them without severity; but if they are led into the right way early enough, the chances are that they will awake and repent, and that only a small number of them will come under the law.

"Therefore the Viceroys and Governors of those provinces, each in the manner customary in his dominion and in accordance with his rank, shall select forms of proclamations wherewith to order that it shall be impressed upon the simple country folks everywhere that, besides and beyond the three social ties (between sovereign and minister, father and child, husband and wife) and the five Constant Matters¹, no so-called religion exists, and that outside the natural laws (the Tao) and the laws of the Ruler, happiness may not be sought after; that happiness proceeds from complying with orthodoxy (ching), and misfortune from following heresy (sié). If then some few people belonging to the tares of society contrive means to fan the fire of seduction, but find no one ready to join them, their baseness must gradually die out, and the good manners and customs (fung-suh) together with the hearts daily gain more purity"².

迨經官府查辦則爲從徒黨亦與爲首之犯同罹法網、貽害多人深堪憫惻。

¹ See page 216.

² 如近日直隸江西福建廣東廣西貴州等省每有奏辦邪教及會匪等案。其案由雖各不侔、而蚩愚被誘其情節大率相類。此等頑民既經破案、不能不嚴行懲創、若先時化導、或可冀其覺悟改悔、陷法者少。

著該督撫各就該省情形敘次簡明告示、通行曉諭使鄉曲小民羣知三綱五常之外別無所謂教、天理王法之外他無可求福、從正則吉、從邪則凶。即間有一二莠民設法煽誘、而附和無人、

Surely this declaration was clear enough for the people to realize that their heresies, as of old, need not reckon on any lenity, but would be persistently persecuted. With interest we note the assertion that persecution at that time found place in so many provinces. For about twelve months more it would rage before it provoked open rebellion, but during that time, as we shall see, preparations for a rising were being made by the heretics. They drew tighter their bonds of fraternity, organized a system of self-defence, and even resolved to overthrow the dynasty, the source of all their woe, the murderer of their parents, the exterminator of their families.

For the history of this insurrection an excellent source exists, which enables us to know its details fully and minutely. We will avail ourselves of the same to draw a clearer picture than we could hitherto give of the terrible manner in which insurrections are quenched and heresies persecuted in China, and to make the reader realize somewhat better the awful disasters which state-persecution brings upon that nation. That source is the *Khin ting p'ing ting kiao-fei ki lioh* 欽定平定教匪紀畧, "Chronological Account, with Imperial sanction, of the Pacification of the Religious Rebels". It is a beautifully printed work in 42 chapters, in which, from the 12th day of the ninth month (5 Oct.) 1813 to the 3rd of the sixth month (27 June) 1816, the official correspondence and Imperial decrees about the revolt, probably to their full number, have been laid down according to their dates, together with the documents about another rebellion breaking out in 1813 in Shensi, and in the main subdued by the same generals and the same forces. It was completed in 1817 by a committee of forty-four high officials, whose names and titles are registered at the head of the work. Of special interest among this pile of documentary evidence are some pages in the first part of the introductory chapter, in which the emperor describes ten episodes from which it would appear indisputably how the hand of Heaven succoured and saved him and his House most visibly during that short period of extreme danger. Thus they proclaim the highest State-divinity to be the chief enemy of heresy.

This standard source of information we shall for the sake of brevity call *Ki lioh*. Many of the decrees concerning the

奇袤自以漸滅熄、風俗人心庶可日臻淳樸. *Shing hiun*, 100.

rebellion, which it contains, may also be found in various sections of the *Shing hiun*. A short account of the insurrection is given in Wei Yuen's *Shing wu ki*, in the tenth chapter¹. A fourth source is a small volume in six chapters, entitled *Tsing nih ki* 靖逆記 or "Description of the quenching of the Insurrection", printed in 1821. Besides an account of events in the three provinces where the rebellion raged, it gives biographies of the chief actors in the drama, and also a chapter about the rebellion in Shensi. We found in this book nothing noteworthy which does not appear in the *Ki lioh*. The name of its author is Lan I 蘭蓀.

Wei Yuen confirms in a few plain words that the molestations of the heretics by yamen-people and soldiers was the direct cause of the rebellion. "The religion of the Rules of Heaven or of Nature", he says, "also known by the name of Eight Diagrams religion, "held meetings and collected contributions in money, and the "ignorant people were so bitterly molested for it by the low officials "that they rose in arms"². The soul of the movement and headman of the sect was Lin Ts'ing 林清, then 44 years old. Evidently of an energetic temperament, and prepared to sacrifice himself for his distressed co-religionists, he resolved to bring them relief by a bold and direct attack upon the chief cause of all their trouble. Should they succeed in mastering the Imperial court and the very throne of the persecutor, the confusion created, enhanced by a simultaneous general rising of their sects, might bring about a revolution and, perhaps, the formation of a government tolerant on the point of religion. Precious was the price, but the stakes were tremendous, for if the plan miscarried, a general butchering of heretics, a wholesale extermination, would not fail to follow. The risk was run, and Lin Ts'ing charged himself with the most perilous part of the task: the direction of the attack on the Palace.

A few particulars about this remarkable man, at the same time shedding some light upon his religion, should precede. His home, presumably also his birthplace, was Sung-kia-chwang 宋家莊, the "hamlet of the family Sung", belonging to Hwang-ts'un 黃村 "or the village of the clan Hwang", situated at about 40 kilometres

¹ Perhaps this is the source from which Parker drew up his one page devoted in the China Review of 1888 (page 11) to this rebellion.

² 天理教者亦名八卦教、聚衆斂財、愚民苦胥吏者爭興焉. Chap. 10.

south of Peking, on the highroad issuing from the gate in the western part of the south wall. In his youth he had been introduced in the sect by the headman Sung King-yao 宋景耀, who had taught him a sacred formula, always recited by the members, viz. 真空家鄉無生父母, "Unbegotten Father and Mother in the home of the immaterial Void", in other words, Heaven and Earth which have always existed in the Universe or Nirwāṇa. The sect was that of the Eight Diagrams, in later years more often called the sect of the Rules of Heaven or of Nature, T'ien-li kiao 天理教.

On the occasion of a persecution, Sung King-yao was imprisoned, together with one Liu Ch'ing-siang 劉呈祥, headman of the northern Mansion of the sect, or the kung denoted by the diagram Khan 坎, assimilated with the north (comp. p. 335). These two men with some other members were banished, and Lin Ts'ing was beaten with the long stick, after which the members of the Mansion chose him for their headman. This same persecution brought him in contact with Niu Liang-chen 牛亮臣, a fellow-sectary 53 years old, who came from Hwah 滑, a district in Honan, where, as we shall see, the main scene of the drama would be enacted. Through this man he became acquainted with Li Wen-ch'ing 李文成, the leader of the sect in that district. This latter told him that in some way or other his ancestry were connected with the characters 卯 and 金; hence he adopted the family-name Liu 劉, in the written form of which these signs occur, and was henceforth known as Liu Lin 劉林, or as Liu Hing-kwoh 劉興國¹. We also read that he was held to be a re-incarnation of one Liu Lin from the district of Ts'ao 曹, in Shantung, who lived in olden times and was styled Patriarch or Prophet of the Sien-t'ien or pre-celestial period (先天祖師). On this ground Lin Ts'ing was often called the post-celestial Patriarch 後天祖師². After his scourging he remained as faithful as ever to the cause of his faith and his fellow-believers. That he was held in high honour by them is proved by the fact that, although far from old, he was in reality headman of the whole sect. Sometimes he was respectfully addressed as Lao Liu yé 老劉爺, "the Old Gentleman Liu" or "Father Liu",

¹ See for those particulars especially the protocol of his confessions after his incarceration, in the *Ki hoh*, chap. 3, folio 11.

² *Ki hoh*, Introduction I, folio 15. See the explanation of the terms pre-celestial and post-celestial, pp. 176 and foll.

or by his clerical name (see page 218) Chen-khung 真空, "Immaterial Void", or "merged with the Tao and Nirwāṇa"¹.

The formula of the sect, given above, was to him of great importance. He would advise everybody to recite it solemnly morning and evening, with reverent genuflections towards the highest dual power of Nature, who was thus invoked; all danger of arms, fire and water could thus be warded off, not to mention that the formula ensured the success of every important undertaking. For these particulars, which go to prove the Naturism of his sect, we are indebted to Lan I, the writer of the *Tsing nih ki*.

When the spirit of sedition and revolt became rife among the sects, Lin Ts'ing consulted the stars, and thus learned that there were three religions of the Buddha Maitreya, viz. of the Blue Ocean (青洋), the Red Ocean (紅洋), and the White Ocean (白洋), and that this time the sect of the White Ocean would prosper. And he was found to be the Whitest Being (太白), i. e. the planet Venus assimilated with the element Metal (金); hence he was Emperor of the Heavens (天皇), while the 36 year old P'ing Khoh-shen 馮克善, head of the sect in the department Wei-hwui 衛輝 in Honan, of which Hwah is one of the districts (see map page 298), was Emperor of the Earth (地皇), and Li Wen-ch'ing Emperor of Mankind (人皇)². He further read in the stars that the enterprise should be started either in the middle of autumn, or on the 15th of the ninth month. It was then resolved that on the last-named day Ch'en Shwang 陳爽 and Ch'en Wen-Khwei 陳文魁 should attack the Palace. By different routes the fellow-conspirators entered Peking, while Lin Ts'ing, with a division of rebels from Hwah, to be expedited by Li Wen-ch'ing, was to surprise the emperor, just then on his way from Kansuh and Shensi towards the Capital³.

The attack on the Palace was concerted doubtless on account of the circumstance that there lived sectaries within its gates, especially among the eunuchs. One of these, Liu Teh-ts'ai 劉得財, 36 years old, a native from Sang-fah 桑伐, was a fellow-villager of Ch'en Shwang, and by him converted to the religion. He had then converted five other eunuchs, namely Liu Kin 劉金,

1 See the protocol of the confessions of the sect-leader Niu Liang-chen, in the *Ki lioh*, chap. 26, folio 24.

2 The three chief components of the Universe (三才) are, according to Chinese philosophy, Heaven, Earth, and Man.

3 Protocol of Lin Ts'ing's second interrogation, inserted in the *Ki lioh*, chap. 4, folios 5 and foll.

Wang Fuh-luh 王幅祿, Chang T'ai 張太, Kao Kwang-fuh 高廣幅, and Yen Tsin-hi 閻進喜¹. In the course of the third month of the year 1813 Lin Ts'ing had a meeting with those five men in an eating-house outside the Si-hwa 西華 gate, to the west of the Palace. Speaking about matters of religion and propagation, Lin Ts'ing explained to them that a critical turn in the kalpa was coming (劫運將到), which probably meant that an era of glory for the religion was to commence. And in the eighth month they had another conference, not attended by Wang Fuh-luh, at which it was arranged that at the attack on the Palace the eunuchs should help as guides².

On the 14th of the ninth month, Lin Ts'ing came to Peking with Ch'en Shwang and Ch'en Wen-khwei. And in the morning of the day following, Ch'en Shwang and his men met Liu Teh-ts'ai in a wineshop outside the Tung-hwa 東華 gate, east of the Palace. The latter there received the white swaths which he and his companions were to wear as badges. At noon, the rebels, about 200 strong, provided with white banners, stormed the Palace. They were divided in two groups, respectively under Ch'en Shwang and Ch'en Wen-khwei, which rushed into the Tung-hwa gate and the Si-hwa gate, while the eunuchs Wang Fuh-luh and Yen Tsin-hi remained within the Palace, to support the assailants.

The attack under Ch'en Shwang, led by Liu Teh-ts'ai and Liu Kin, was a failure. Only about half a dozen men with Liu Teh-ts'ai managed to force an entrance, but the others were shut out by the guard, who succeeded in closing the gate; then, frightened by their own deed, they dispersed in the city. The intruders managed to make their way to the Ts'ang-chen 蒼震 gate, but were there beaten down and overpowered by eunuchs and others. Liu Teh-ts'ai hid himself somewhere in the Palace, but in the afternoon of the 17th he was discovered³.

The simultaneous attack on the Si-hwa gate was at first more successful. Led by the eunuchs Kao Kwang-fuh, Yang Tsin-chung 楊進忠, and Chang T'ai, Ch'en Wen-khwei and his men defeated the guard, but did not proceed quickly enough to prevent the gates of the inner Palace from being slammed in their very

1 Protocol of the first trials, presented to the emperor on the 18th of the ninth month by T'oh-tsin 托津, head of the Council of State, Ying Hwo 英和, General Commandant of the Gendarmerie, and Ch'ung Luh 崇祿, President of the Board of Punishments; *Ki lioh* 3, folio 9.

2 Protocol of the trials of the 19th; *Ki lioh* 4, folio 8.

3 Protocol of the first trials; *Ki lioh* 3, folios 9 and foll.

faces. It has ever since been an official truth that this part of the Palace was saved by the heir-apparent, the emperor's second son. According to our authorities, this hero, together with the third prince, Mien-khai 縣愷, was studying in the Court library, when the alarm of the gate-keepers fell upon their ears. They shut the gate, and the elder, armed with a musket, posted himself outside the Yang-sin 養心 gate, and shot down the first invader who showed himself on the wall. A second, bearing a flag, met with the same fate, after which the assailants lacked courage or desire to make further efforts to climb over¹. They manoeuvred between the south-western buildings and temples, and attempted to set fire to the buildings round the Lung-tsung 隆宗 gate, but meanwhile troops of the Imperial princes had entered the Palace through the Shen-wu 神武 gate in the northern wall, and attacked them. The second prince furthermore contributed largely to the defence of the inner Palace by distributing muskets and swords, and by placing himself at the head of a troop of soldiers. The beileh Mien-chi 縣志, son of the prince of I (儀親王), the emperor's brother, also bravely handled a musket and kept the assailants from the wall. And the chief eunuch Shang Yung-kwei 常永貴 posted himself with a cudgel at the Tsun-i 尊義 gate, and there, assisted by Palace officials, kept the invaders at bay, besides performing other valiant deeds².

In the course of that afternoon more troops marched in, and the heroic battle lasted till deep in the night. The attempts of the invaders to set fire to the buildings of the Palace were frustrated about midnight by a thunderstorm accompanied by heavy rains, and lo, amid the roaring of thunder and the flashes of lightning, Kwanti appeared from the Wu-ying temple (武英廟), dedicated to his worship. Now seeing this Imperial God of War himself take the lead in the defence of the Palace and the throne, the attackers recoiled and, panic-stricken, threw themselves into the canal which flows past that temple and the Tai-hwo 太和 gate; but, unable to climb the perpendicular marble quays, they were drowned or killed. The remainder were captured, some of them on the top of the South gate (午門), their last retreat³.

1 See also the *Shing hiun*, chap. 12, decree of the 16th.

2 *Ki lioh*, chap. 2, folios 5 and foll.

3 *Ki lioh*. Introduction I, folios 6 and 7. This miracle is there recorded as the fifth by which Heaven showed its intervention on behalf of the dynasty.

Verhand. Kon. Akad. v. Wetensch. (Afd. Letterk.) N. R. Dl 1V.

We can imagine how the court-dignitaries, Ying Hwo with his Gendarmerie, and all civil and military authorities with their lictors and soldiers were busy tracking rebels and suspected persons within and without Peking. Search was made day and night; the official documents recorded in the *Ki lioh* point to a perfect reign of terror. Of course the authorities were no less busy in torturing confessions out of their prisoners. They soon learned that Lin Ts'ing was in Hwang-ts'un, his birth-place (see p. 419), waiting for the promised rebels from Honan. These did not make their appearance, for reasons which we shall learn presently — but troops from Peking arrived instead, with an object clear enough from these words of an Imperial decree: "If his family be not exterminated to the last person, not enough will be done for the glory of the laws and rescripts" (若不盡數誅夷、不足以彰憲典). Under the old Lah-wang-to-'rh-tsi (see p. 299), they arrested all the members of his tribe. They also marched to Tung-ts'un 董村, in the district T'ung-cheu 通州, east of Peking, some ten inhabitants having taken part in the attack on the Tung-hwa gate¹. At their approach they found that place in flames, and the inhabitants fled. According to the commander, it was set fire to by the rebels themselves², but we should like to know who in reality were the incendiaries, and what was the fate of many of those so-called fugitives under their swords and spears.

Of course the emperor was circumstantially informed of everything by express messengers, and sent back immediate orders. One of these, directed to T'oh-tsin and Ying Hwo, the two chief leaders of this terrorism, was to the effect that the bodies of the slain, identified by the captives, should be dragged out of the city and there hacked to pieces, and the heads put on stakes, but that this should not be done exclusively in the streets; further that the slashing to death of those whose confessions had been properly written down and from whom no further information could be extorted, might commence at their convenience with a few or with two at a time, but that the four chief criminals should be kept alive, to give him an opportunity of examining them himself³. This impetuosity was the result of something more than revenge and blood-thirstiness: it was also an expression of fear

¹ *Ki lioh* 5, folio 36.

² See about all this a decree of the 23rd, in chap. 3 of the *Shing hiun*, and also in the *Ki lioh* 5, folio 29.

³ *Ki lioh* 2, folio 42.

and dread, lest inside or outside Peking plots or riots should be hatched to liberate the prisoners, as had been the case a few days previous to this in Hwah. Only a terrorism of the very bloodiest kind — such no doubt was the argument — could overawe the conspirators, keep them under control, and thus save the court and the dynasty from destruction.

The emperor received the first intelligence of the attack on the very next day after it took place, at Poh-kien 白澗, near the western Mausolea, where he intended to sacrifice on the tombs of his grandfather Shi Tsung and his grandmother, and perhaps also to inspect his own tomb, then in process of building. He immediately rewarded his brave second son with the dignity of Prince of Chi (智親王) and a yearly allowance of 12,000 taels; to his third son he also promised a reward. Relinquishing his visitation of the graves, he travelled post-haste to Peking, where he entered the Palace on the 19th. He gratefully acknowledged a miracle from Heaven in the fact of his return having been retarded ten days through rains, for if he had started for home at the appointed time, his second son would just have been away from Peking with a guard to meet him, and so could not have defended the Palace'.

Meanwhile numerous prisoners were committed to the terrible prisons of the Board of Punishments, and subjected to rigorous trials. At his second examination, accompanied, of course, by the most cruel tortures, Lin Tsing mentioned the heads of his sect and the rebel chiefs in different places outside the Capital², thus giving the emperor many clues for a new and long heresy-hunt in various directions. In order to carry this out properly, he despatched, directly after his return to Peking, special commissioners to Tung-ch'ang 東昌 and Teh 德, the north-western districts of Shantung, where the rebellion had not yet broken out, sending also on that same day instructions to Heng Ling 衡齡, the Governor of Shansi, rigorously to lay hands on the sect, which, according to the statements of prisoners, had assumed very considerable proportions in this province. Indeed, it was taught that this kalpa was that of the White Ocean, and of this ocean Shansi was the head, Honan the navel, Shantung the tail. Various chiefs mentioned by name were to be arrested by the said Governor, and, if opposition should take place, he was to send out troops against them, "to beat down and destroy everything

1 *Ki lioh*, Intr. I, folio 3.

2 *Ki lioh* 4, folios 6 and foll., also 11 and foll.

forthwith" (立時撲滅). Similar instructions were sent to the highest provincial authorities in Shensi and Nganhwui. In case of opposition, they also should immediately undertake the work of extermination (就地殲除), or that of destruction and capture (就地剿捕).

On the same 19th day on which these Imperial orders were given to pour more oil on the smouldering embers of the insurrection, the Council of State and the Board of Punishments proposed to the emperor to let twenty-nine assailants of the Palace be slashed to death, the bodies of the slain be cut in pieces, and all the heads be exhibited on stakes. This proposal the emperor sanctioned, and he fixed the next day for the slashing of the eunuchs Chang T'ai and Wang Fuh-luh with fourteen other culprits, and the 21st day of that moon for the execution of Ch'en Shwang with twelve others¹.

On the 23rd, the emperor personally examined four principal criminals at the northern gate of the Yung terrace (瀛臺). These were Lin Ts'ing and one Liu Tsin-t'ing 劉進亭, also the eunuchs Liu Teh-ts'ai and Liu Kin. Liu Teh-ts'ai confessed to him that the white flag of the invaders during the thunderstorm was rent by the lightning, in consequence of which they all took to flight in terror and dismay². Of course His Majesty condemned them all to be slashed to death, and their heads to be put on stakes, except that of Lin Ts'ing, which was to be sent round through the parts of Chihli, Honan and Shantung where the rebellion raged, or was already suppressed³. Thankfully acknowledging that the execution of the chief culprits, which permitted the Capital and the surrounding districts to breathe freely again, was due to the intervention of Heaven, Earth, the Imperial ancestors, and the patron divinities of Land and Grain, he decreed that on the first day of the next month solemn thank-offerings should be presented to these highest Confucian State-divinities, to wit, by princes of the blood, as his proxies, on the altars of Heaven and Earth, and by himself on those of the gods of Land and Grain, and in the temples of his ancestors⁴.

That same day the sentence of death by slashing was past on the eunuch Yang Tsin-chung, who had conducted the invaders from the Si-hwa gate to the inner Palace (see p. 422). Four days later he was executed⁵. We read of some two dozen more eunuchs

1 *Ki lioh* 4, folio 26.

3 *Ki lioh* 5, folio 24.

5 *Ki lioh* 7, folio 6.

2 *Ki lioh*, Introd. II, folios 17 and 18.

4 *Ki lioh* 5, folio 25.

who under suspicion of complicity were arrested¹ and as a matter of course "rigorously" examined; but what their ultimate fate was, we are not told. The treachery of these Palace officials made the emperor decree that henceforth the Directors of the eunuchs should keep strict control over their movements and excursions outside the Palace gates, and that they should only be permitted to go about in groups of two or three, to control one another². "The wives and children of Lin Ts'ing", thus says a decree of the 23rd, "with his relations by blood and marriage, shall all alike be arrested according to their names, and, as the law prescribes, they shall be punished together with him"³. We know this law (p. 255), and thus are aware what this decree involved. From several other edicts we learn that the relations of a great number of convicts had to share that fate.

On the 27th it was reported to the emperor that the Gendarmerie and other administrative departments in Peking had already delivered up more than three hundred persons for judgment⁴, and still the hunt continued day after day. Heavy punishments were administered to the guards at the Palace gates; a number of them were put in the cangue and banished, many also sentenced to strangulation⁵. In vain we search the state-documents for a complete summary of the slaughtered and the punished; we can only give the following desultory notes. One decree, dated the 30th of the ninth month, tells us that of the family of one Ch'en Yiu-hioh 陳有學 no less than sixty-one men, women, and children were sentenced to slavery in the New Frontier Province, Fuhkien, Kwangtung, Kansuh, Szê-ch'wen, and other regions⁶. — Twelve days later, upon receipt of Imperial sanction, the sentence of decapitation was carried into effect upon the adoptive son of the eunuch Yang Tsin-chung, upon the father of Chang T'ai, and that of Ch'en Wen-khwei, while twenty-three of their kinspeople were exiled⁷. — On the 17th of the next month eighteen men were slashed to death; the day after, sixteen more; four were beheaded, one of them on account of his kinship; two were strangled, two corpses cut

¹ *Ki lioh* 4, folios 4 and 5.

² *Ki lioh* 5, folio 27.

³ 其妻子親屬等均一一按名捕獲、照例緣坐.

Ki lioh 5, folio 29. *Shing hiun*, chap. 3.

⁴ *Ki lioh* 7, folio 7.

⁵ About their sentences see *Ki lioh* 7, folios 22 and foll., and 19, folios 23 and foll.

⁶ *Ki lioh* 7, folio 34.

⁷ *Ki lioh* 10, folio 35.

to pieces; twenty-seven members of the Red Yang sect, simply on account of their membership, were given in slavery to the Oelöt and the Government troops in Turkestan¹. And on the 29th, of the brothers and other relatives of the eunuchs Kao Kwang-fuh and Yang Tsin-chung, five were beheaded, and twenty-six banished². In the eleventh month the sanguinary work was still continued with unrelenting zeal. On the second day, thirteen men, amongst them the eunuch Yen Tsin-hi, were slashed, one was beheaded, while two others, who died in prison, were hacked to pieces³. Of course by this time there were among the executed an ever-increasing number of sectaries, rebel-mongers and insurgents from the provinces, selected by the civil and military authorities from the masses who fell into their hands, for sending to Peking. A further account of the executions will therefore be given in our description of the events in the revolted districts. Chief Inquisitor at Peking was the magnate Tung Kao 董誥, member of the Council of State, charged with the high direction of the Board of Punishments; to his name must henceforth be booked all proposals for execution in groups, decapitation, strangulation and banishment, which were presented to the emperor for his confirmation.

On the 27th of the ninth month, Tung Kao and the Council of State presented to the emperor a list of the men wounded or slain in the defence of the Palace. The forty-one killed, His Majesty decreed, shall be looked upon and honoured as killed in active military service, while the wounded, sixty in number, shall be rewarded as if wounded on the battle-field⁴.

In his heartfelt gratitude to the God of War, whose marvellous apparition had so timely created a panic amongst the assailants of the Palace, the emperor issued a decree on the 6th day of the eleventh month, prescribing that, in addition to the sacrifices of the first day of the tenth month in honour of the supreme gods of the Imperial house (see p. 426), an offering to that divinity was to be made outside the Ti-ngan 地安 gate, on a propitious day before the coming winter-solstice, by the heir-apparent in person, the bravest of all the brave in the defence of the Palace. At the same time he promoted in rank Ngan-tat 譚達, that prince's fencing-master, whose excellent lessons were, of course, the

1 *Ki lioh* 12, fol. 18—19.

2 *Ki lioh* 15, fol. 10.

3 *Ki lioh* 16, fol. 7.

4 *Ki lioh* 7, fol. 4—6; *Shing hiun*, chap. 95.

real cause of the famous movement of the prince in shooting down the assailants from the wall of the inner Palace¹.

And now, having sketched the course of events in and round Peking, we must give our attention to what had meanwhile taken place elsewhere, in immediate connection with these events.

The insurrection which, according to the calculation of the heads of the Eight Diagrams religion, was to break out simultaneously with the attack on the Palace, originated in a department of the Honan province situated in the neighbourhood of the same region where, thirty-nine years before, the religious rebellion of Wang Lun had been smothered in blood, viz. in Wei-hwui 衛輝, with a chief city of the same name on the river Wei 衛 (see map, page 298).

There, as mentioned on page 421, P'ing Khoh-shen, the so-called Emperor of the Earth, was head of the sect. To the north-east of Wei-hwui lies the district of Hwah 滑, also with a walled chief city of the same name. Here were the headquarters of the division or kung (see p. 335) called Chen 震, which is the chief diagram of the eight, because it corresponds with the East, the first and principal cardinal point, identified by the *Yi* with the Dragon, the symbol of Imperial dignity. Headman of this division was Li Wen-ch'ing, the Emperor of Mankind, whose acquaintance we have also made (p. 420 and 421). Being the head of the principal diagram, he was also acknowledged as a chief of the sect as a whole. Originally a carpenter's boy, he had through study and industry become a man of no mean literary attainments, particularly proficient in sooth-saying. He had been a member of various associations, such as the Hu-mi-pien 虎尾鞭 or "Tiger-tail Whips", the Hung-ch'wen sié 紅磚社 or "Red Brick society", and the society of the I-hwo-khuen 義和拳 or "Fists of Righteousness and Concord"², until he became headman of the sect of the Chen diagram.

¹ *Ki lioh* 17, fol. 3.

² This is, as is well known, the name of a society which in 1900 played so notorious a part in Chibli and Peking, and by the foreigners called Boxers. The first mention of this sect we have found in an Imperial decree of the 14th of the seventh month (4 Sept.) of the year 1808 (*Sh. h.* 99), in company with that of the Tiger-tail Whips, the Shun-tao society (順刀會) or that of "the Swords of Obedience", and the sect of the Eight Diagrams. That edict was issued in consequence of the request

As early as 1812 the conspiracy was ripening. The plotters held meetings chiefly at a place called Tao-kheu 道口, eight li from Hwah; the rôles were divided, and the oaths of fealty and loyalty sworn. Lin Ts'ing and Li Wen-ch'ing, after consulting the stars, appointed the hour at which the attack on the Palace should take place and the insurrection break out, viz. that of midday of the 15th of the ninth month (Oct. 8). For their device they chose the one used by the Ming dynasty: 奉天開道, "Charged by Heaven to open the Way". Afterwards this was inscribed on the white banners of the rebels, both at the assault of the Palace and in the battle field; evidently therefore their object was to overthrow the Manchu dynasty and restore the former House.

of the Censor Cheu T'ing-shen 周廷森 that these sects might be destroyed with greater force. According to his statement, they were, in Nganhwui, very numerous in the departments Ying-cheu 潁州 and Poh 亳; in Kiangsu, in Sü-cheu 徐州; in Honan, in the department Kwei-teh 歸德; in Shantung, in the departments Ts'ao-cheu 曹州, I-cheu 沂州 and Yen-cheu 兗州; therefore, as the map on page 298 shows, in and round the sphere of the insurrection which now occupies our attention. The connection in which the Boxers are here mentioned, almost compels us to see in them a religious sect of the Eight Diagrams stamp. According to the above-named Censor, these societies were mainly composed of country people, — of bad repute, of course — who oppressed the loyal, and gambled on a large scale, for which purpose they pitched large tents, conspired with the yamen-brood, etc., etc. Neither were they behind hand in fighting. The emperor, approving of the Censor's proposal, instructed the Viceroys and Governors of the three provinces to track the heads and leaders of these communities and punish them severely, as also the officials who made common cause with them; and he ordered them to see that the Prefects did not keep in office any heads of villages or wards who were on good terms with these societies.

In the face of the above, instead of accepting any of the suggestions about the origin and character of the Boxer-movement in 1900, offered by various foreigners who said they were well-informed, we are inclined to attach more importance to what the Prefect of Wu-kiao 吳橋, in Chihli, told of them through the Jesuit missionary Ignace Mangin, who fell a victim in the Boxer insurrection. "The Boxers are nothing 'more or less than a ramification of the White Lotus sect; the titles they used, the 'formulas they recited, rank them among the sié kiao or 'heretical religions'. Although 'persecuted under Jen Tsung, they have maintained themselves in several districts of 'Shantung and Chihli, and their audacity has gradually increased. The people are being 'seduced by them, and forget that the bringing down of deities and the recital of 'formulas prove the depravity of the sect. Under Jen Tsung there was but little Christianity in China, the sect can therefore not be an outcome of hatred against the 'Christians. Its real object is rebellion, and the ignorant masses are misled by it". Cordier, "Relations de la Chine avec les Puissances Occidentales", III, p. 453.

After this it is certainly hardly possible to believe in the alleged conspiracy between the Boxers and the Chinese Government against the foreigners. Confucian puritanism co-operating with heresy! mice with a cat! It is rather ludicrous.

But on the 13th of the eighth month the conspiracy was betrayed to the Prefect of Hwah, Khiang Khoh-tsieh 强克捷, by P'ing Khoh-kung 冯克功 and P'ing Khoh-ch'ang 冯克昌, respectively a cousin and a brother to P'ing Khoh-shen, the Emperor of the Earth and departmental leader of the sect, residing at Hwah (see p. 421). To avoid the impending danger, this man left this city on the 15th¹, thereby stigmatising himself among the sect as privy to the betrayal. According to the official reading, the plot was first discovered and reported by a controller (siün-kien 巡檢) of the Prefect, called Liu Pin 劉斌, who had been informed that Li Wen-ch'ing instigated the people to make arms.

On a sudden Li Wen-ch'ing was arrested by the Prefect, together with the sect-leader Niu Liang-chen (see p. 420) and the latter's father, brothers and sons. Li Wen-ch'ing was most cruelly tortured with wooden squeezing-clamps, applied to his ankles with so much force that his feet afterwards rotted away and fell off. Niu Liang-chen received several strokes on his hand-palms. The conspirators, fearing that torture might bring the prisoners to a full confession and make everything collapse, were compelled to immediate action, and had to anticipate the date previously fixed upon. On the 7th, led by P'ing Siang-lin 冯相林, the king (王) of the Kwun 坤 Diagram, they entered the city, stormed the prison and the prefectural mansion, and killed the Prefect with Liu Pin and two other subordinate officers, and as many of the relatives of these men as they could find. Li Wen-ch'ing and Niu Liang-chen were thus liberated, but as to the contemplated march to Peking, to support the assailants of the Palace and to attack the Imperial cortege, this had to be given up, because the mandarinates in the adjacent districts had mobilized all the available troops. And so, without surmizing it, Khiang Khoh-tsieh, next to Heaven and the Imperial ancestors², saved the dynasty.

The rebellion spread with great rapidity. To the north the insurgents made for Siün 濬, the nearest district-city, but the valour of the garrison saved it from falling into their hands; This no doubt means that, meeting with some resistance, the assailants deemed it advisable immediately to retire, and try their fortune elsewhere. They indeed fared better in a south-easterly

1 See the protocol of P'ing Khoh-shen's confessions, *Ki lioh* 24, folio 24.

2 About these and many other details, see especially chap. 26 of the *Ki lioh*, folios 29 and foll.

direction, on the Chihli territory, in the department of Khai 開. On the sixth day of the month, the Prefect of the district Ch'ang-yuen 長垣, Chao Lun 趙綸 by name, had left the city in company with his police and subordinates, to arrest mutineers in the village of Wei-yuen 葦園, eighteen li from there. But, as no rebellion had broken out as yet in that locality, he probably was anxious to play a part in the tragedy of sectary-persecutions, which, as we know, had to be carried on throughout Chihli, by Imperial command. On his way home — of course with a number of prisoners in his suite —, he was attacked by a band with white scarfs round their heads, and dressed in white. A captain, sent out in all haste with troops to deliver him, only succeeded in securing his decapitated body, after a sharp fight with the villagers.

And on the tenth day, at dawn, the rebels, who on the previous evening had slipped in, mastered the district-city Ts'ao 曹, situated eastward, on the Shantung territory. They emptied the prisons, and surprised the Yamen of the Prefect Yao Kwoh-chen 姚國旆. Just as this mandarin left his apartments, ready dressed, he was stabbed, and his head cut off. Many of his family-members of both sexes were killed. After that, the rebels left the city.

In the district-city Ting-t'ao 定陶, also on Shantung territory, to the north of Ts'ao, a similar scene was enacted that same day. The Prefect on duty, Ho Teh-han 賀德瀚, with his troops opposed the rebels and the liberated prisoners in the open street, and fell with a number of his men. Then the rebels met with sharp resistance from the members of the Khung 孔 family residing in the district, descendants of Confucius, and therefore natural protectors, unto death, of pure orthodoxy. Staunchly they refused to take the side of the rebels, and paid for their loyalty with their lives. It was said that more than five hundred of both sexes perished.

The district-city Kin-hiang 金鄉, situated still further eastward, was saved by the bravery of the Prefect Wu Kiai 吳楷. Before the actual outbreak of the rebellion he arrested the principal leader of the sect, Ts'ui Shi-tsun 崔士俊, with several others; after that he repulsed the assailants of the city, took their implements of war, and dispersed them. Then he let loose his troops over the whole district to commence a cruel chase; many were horribly mutilated and killed, and several sent up to the provincial capital, where, after examination, they were, one after another, put to death. Khao-ch'ing 考城, a district of Honan,

conterminous with Ts'ao, also rose in rebellion, and the insurgent hosts swept through the country. And finally, in Chihli, the district-city Tung-ming 東明, east of Ch'ang-yuen, was besieged by the rebels and hard pressed, but successfully defended by the Prefect Chu Wei 朱煒.

Besides their regular provincial troops, the authorities brought country soldiers (鄉兵 or 鄉勇) into the field: volunteers, who, as Lan I writes, "did much harm to the people, and whose crimes were beyond control". Even a corps of women was formed, wearing short jackets with tight sleeves, "who in the dark committed all kinds of indecencies with the rebels". At the head of the provincial troops of Shantung, with which the rebels chiefly had to reckon during the first days, were General Su 'rh Shen 蘇爾慎, and the more than sixty year old Liu Ts'ing 劉清, Commissioner of the Revenue derived from the Salt-Gabelle, who in the great sectarian war in Szē-ch'wen had gained many laurels. In co-operation with the Governor of Shantung, T'ung Hing (p. 410), he advanced with his troops against the rebels on the 27th of the ninth month. The insurgents were at that time nestled in the Fang hills (髡山) in Ts'ao-cheu, about forty li distant from Ting-t'ao. His prompt action was crowned with great success; over three hundred were slain, and over eighty captured, without his losing a single man¹. After that he attacked them again in the Great Temple of the Han family (韓家大廟) and some surrounding villages, at about eight li from Ting-t'ao; here some four hundred were destroyed².

As a result of this victorious campaign, Ting-t'ao fell again into the hands of the authorities. For the rest the purifying-work in the three provinces resolved itself into the tracking of isolated groups of rebels, and the catching and killing of them by hundreds. Reports about this loathsome butchering were sent in regularly to the emperor; the figures being mentioned with as much ostentation as if it concerned so many heads of game. In the Shantung districts, Su 'rh Shen made himself specially meritorious with his hordes of Kirin and Solon Tartars. It appears from all the above that the rebels were rather helpless, badly armed, and scarcely able to defend themselves. For the greater part they may have been harmless people, always seeking safety in retreat or flight.

The central Government at Peking naturally took energetic

1 Report of T'ung Hing, in the *Ki lioh* 8, folio 18.

2 Second report of T'ung Hing, *Ki lioh* 9, folio 16.

measures. Wen Ch'ing-hwui, the Viceroy of Chihli, struck with the emperor's displeasure for not taking drastic measures to quench the rebellion, was deposed and degraded, and Chang Hū 章煦 took his place. Na Yen-ch'ing, Viceroy of Shensi and Kansuh, known to us from his exploits during the great rebellion in the west, directly after the breaking out of the insurrection, was called by the emperor to Honan, and entrusted with the direction of the military operations and the chief command of all the forces in the three provinces. Yang Yü-ch'un, the provincial Military Commander of Shensi, also known to us (p. 378), became his next in command, together with Kao Khi (p. 374), General of Jehol, and acting Governor of Honan. This grandee was, however, relieved of the latter function, and this was transmitted to Fang Sheu-ch'eu 方受疇. Five or six thousand troops advanced from Chihli, two thousand horse from Shensi, one thousand from Peking, one thousand Manchus from Kirin, and an equal number from Heh-lung-kiang; while Poh Ling 百齡, Viceroy of the two Kiang, and Hu Khoh-kia 胡克家, Governor of Nganhwui, drew together their troops in the districts of their territory nearest to the revolted regions¹.

A more than sufficient force was thus speedily in the field to give the greatest possible extension to the butchering and extermination. On the 21st, three or four thousand rebels from Tao-kheu (see p. 430) were cut off by Yang Yü-ch'un from that base of operation; they were attacked by Na Yen-ch'ing and the other commanders, and thus, placed between two fires, simply annihilated; 1420 perished, fully 140 were taken prisoners²; the remainder escaped to Tao-kheu and Hwah. About the same time, T'oh-tsin (p. 422) set to work with an army of Tartars in the districts of Tung-ming and Ch'ang-yuen, where so far the rebels had maintained themselves. Su 'rh Shen also was ordered to proceed thither with his Tartars and to co-operate with T'oh-tsin. Simultaneously the Viceroy of Chihli harassed the insurgents in Ta-ming and Khai from the north, and consequently the remnant of their forces had gradually to retreat into eastern Honan, where the rebellion had first broken out, and where Yang Yü-ch'un and Kao Khi were busy at work.

The next victory of any importance was gained by the Imperialists over P'ing Khoh-shen. The latter had come back to Hwah on the 9th of the ninth month, and found his wife, son and daughter murdered in his house: probably an act of vengeance

1 *Ki hoh*, Introduction, folios 7 and 8; also chap. 11, folio 7.

2 *Ki hoh* 13, folios 29—31.

perpetrated by Li Wen-ch'ing and his crew, who looked upon him as a traitor (see p. 431). Full of exasperation, he left the town on the 23rd of the tenth month, at the head of five hundred followers, but he was attacked by the light troops of Yang Yü-ch'un. Half his men fell; the remainder were thrown back into Hwah, and he himself had a narrow escape through the swiftness of his horse. Until the middle of the following month he hid himself in Teh 德 (map, p. 298), in the house of a leader of the sect, and after that, hounded out everywhere, he roamed about, till on the 4th of the twelfth month he was arrested in the village of San-kioh 三角, in the district of Hien 獻, a little more northward in Chihli, and delivered up to the Viceroy, who sent him to Peking. Here he underwent several examinations at the hand of Tung Kao and his tribunal, and the revelations extorted from him led to many fresh captures and convictions¹.

On the 27th of the tenth month Tao-kheu fell in the hands of the Imperial troops. Na Yen-ch'ing, Yang Yü-ch'un, General Yang Fang 楊芳, and Kao Khi marched up from different sides, and cannonaded the little place, which, according to their report, harboured from fourteen to fifteen thousand rebels. A body of rebels from Hwah, one or two thousand strong, advanced to their relief, but were thrown back. The town was stormed, taken and burnt. For a whole day the vandalism and butchering continued; from five to six thousand persons were killed, four or five thousand perished in the flames, three hundred and eighty were captured, and for the greater part killed on the spot. From eight to nine thousand old men, women and children fled from the town². The poor remnant of men able to bear arms managed to escape to Hwah, amongst them Sū Ngan-kwoh 徐安國, who had been in command of the besieged. He was thirty-nine year old, originally from Ch'ang-yuen, and head of the Tui 兌 diagram. A few miles east of Hwah, the pursuing Imperial forces came upon some three thousand rebels from T'ao-yuen 桃源, advancing to relieve the town. They were annihilated by the horse and infantry of Kao Khi, Yang Fang and Yang Yü-ch'un, converging there from all directions. Five or six hundred were killed, and the remainder fled back to T'ao-yuen. Thereupon Hwah was securely invested³. The emperor, convinced of having entrapped here the last remaining

¹ See about all this, chap. 24 of the *Ki lioh*, folios 9 and foll.; also the protocol of his confessions in chap. 24, folios 21 and foll.; finally chap. 25, folios 1 and foll., etc., etc.

² Report of Na Yen-ch'ing and the other Generals, in *Ki lioh* 15, folios 15 and foll.

³ Report of the Commanders of the 3rd of the eleventh month, in *Ki lioh* 16, folio 7.

insurgents and the chief leaders, immediately instructed the commanders to make the besieging cordons very close, so that there could be no question of breaking out at the time of surrender, and none should escape death or capture, not one should slip through the net.

But before access to the northern gate was precluded, Liu Kwoh-ming (see p. 409), leader of the rebels from T'ao-yuen, entered the city, and carried Li Wen-ch'ing off, in the belief that this revered chief could be of more service to their cause elsewhere. Seated in a carriage or sedan-chair, this man, maimed so horribly in his legs, traversed the districts of Ch'ang-yuen and Fung-khiu 封邱, and assembled about four thousand rebels around him, who directed their way through the districts of Yen-tsin 延津 and Yang-wu 陽武 to Wei-hwui (see map, p. 298); and the country west of the Wei river was also brought into a state of revolt. Yang Fang and his Tartars were entrusted with the purification of this region. Marching through the district Khi 淇, north of Wei-hwui city, he enclosed the insurgents in and round a fortress called Szě-chai 司寨, on the slope of a mountain close by a rivulet. Here, on the 19th of the eleventh month, a monstrous carnage was perpetrated, during which only seven Imperialists were lightly wounded. Some five or six hundred rebels defended the fortress till the next day¹; then it was stormed. The besieged offered a desperate resistance with spears and stones, and when the walls fell, fighting continued in the narrow streets and lanes. Finally the two hundred dwellings within the fortress were stormed. Seven or eight, which were storied, resisted the longest. As it was getting dark, these were set fire to, to prevent the defenders from breaking out under cover of night. Scorched and burnt, they came running out, and were caught alive in number about two hundred. One of the storied houses was attacked by Yang Fang in person. Suddenly Liu Kwoh-ming burst open the door, sword in hand, and rushed in upon the besiegers. "I am Liu Kwoh-ming", he cried, killed two, and then fell, mortally wounded by a bullet. They called to the besieged that their lives would be spared if they delivered up Li Wen-ch'ing. "He is here", they exclaimed, and responded to the challenge with bullets. Then they themselves set fire to the house, and about forty or fifty perished in the flames, locked in each other's arms. Not one escaped from the place. The body of Li Wen-ch'ing was identified by the

¹ Report of Na Yen-ch'ing and Yang Yü-ch'ün, in the *Ki lioh* 21, folio 16.

absence of the feet, which had putrified away; the bandages with medicaments, wound round these maimed members, were still visible. His face was deformed by wounds and scars. A banner was found on the spot, bearing the inscription 大明天順李真主, "Li, the true sovereign of the T'ien shun period of the great Ming dynasty"¹. This shows that Li Wen-ch'ing had been proclaimed as rival emperor, and had already adopted a title of reign. The bodies, counted on the spot, amounted to 3,387, not reckoning those that were burnt². Truly, the emperor declared in extasy in a decree of the 25th, when the news of this momentous slaughter reached him, "the fact that not one man slipped through the net, sufficiently shows the glory of the principles and institutions of Our dynasty, and fills the human heart with joy"³. By this same decree he raised Yang Fang and his fellow-commander in the storming of the storied house to the highest ranks, and conferred on these and a number of other braves various favours and presents. The corpses of Li Wen-ch'ing and Liu Kwoh-ming, he decreed, shall be cut in pieces; the head of the former shall be carried round in the riotous districts of Honan, Chihli and Shantung, while that of the latter shall be exhibited on a pole for a warning to the people. The principal captives need not be sent up, but can be executed on the spot, after due examination⁴.

Thus the rebellion was broken in less than two months, in the same region where it was hatched and where it first burst out. A few thousand heretics, who never had handled or even possessed any arms, were completely crushed in about half a dozen districts, by a military force from several provinces, re-inforced by three extra armies of Tartars and picked Chinese infantry and horse. In the documents and reports compiled in the *Ki lioh*, every manœuvre of the troops, every skirmish and feat of arms, every slaughter, is mentioned with scrupulous exactitude. They inform us about every stratagem and measure of the Generals, Viceroys and Governors. But we have taken only the chief items out of this heap of information.

One point in particular those data place in the clearest light, namely the incredible bloodiness and cruelty of this campaign. For a knowledge of what in China is a Government campaign against heretics and rebels, no better source can be found than

¹ Report of Na Yen-ch'ing etc., in the *Ki lioh* 22, folio 1.

² *Ki lioh* 27, folio 20.

³ 無一名漏網足以彰國憲而快人心.

⁴ *Ki lioh* 22, folio 8; *Shing hiun*, 20.

the *Ki loh*. Almost every day we read in it of hundreds being butchered or captured; and granting that these reports of the Generals were somewhat exaggerated, in order to curry favour with their bloodthirsty Imperial master, they undoubtedly prove that blood flowed in streams. The documents further prove that the leaders of the rebels, both high and low, when caught, were always slain on the spot, except a few of the most prominent, who were sent up to Peking or to the capital of the province, there to be forced by the most cruel tortures to make all sorts of confessions about sectaries and conspirators, and finally to be carved in pieces. No rebels who had actually carried arms ever received quarter; the wives, children, relatives, and fellow-villagers of notorious rebels were tracked and likewise put to death, or assigned as slaves to mandarins and military commanders of merit throughout the empire, or to the Oelöt in Turkestan. The number of the slaughtered, including those who fell by the sword of the rebels, was estimated by the emperor himself at a hundred thousand¹. To this should be added the uncounted crowds of old men, women and children, hunted out of their dwelling-places, and perishing from hunger and exhaustion in the rigid winter cold, even for months after the rebellion had been suppressed; also the hundreds, possibly thousands, who committed suicide to escape a worse fate.

During this period of official heroism we see the Son of Heaven from the height of his throne egging on his Generals, Viceroys and Governors, with daily fresh decrees, to quick and energetic action, to extermination with fire and the sword. What else could he do, since, as in the time of Wang Lun's insurrection, the rice and other food supply from the provinces was in danger of being cut off? Districts had now risen adjacent to the region then in rebellion, and, moreover, in close proximity to Ta-ming, where in 1786 this same sect of the Eight Diagrams had taken up arms; how easily might the insurrection spread over there! And who could say whether the revolt would not assume the same enormous proportions as the one which raged in the west at the time of his accession to the throne? who could say whether it might not at any moment involve Peking itself? Considering all this, was it surprising that the tyrant shuddered on his throne for dread of those sectaries who so lately had come within a few paces off it, sword in hand? Realizing his own weakness, what could he do but follow the example of all tyrants whose thrones,

¹ *Ki loh*, Introd. II, folio 12.

built on violence, are being shaken and threaten to collapse, and take recourse in terrorism, with slaughter and extermination of all enemies of his heaven-bestowed authority? As long as China has existed, all its rulers have followed this same course against rebels; their extermination with wives, children, and even their whole tribe, has always been the sacred right of these Vice-regents of highest Heaven. And how much more were they entitled to use this right where it concerned heretics, rebelling against the Tao of Heaven, personified in the inviolable Confucian state-organization and polity!

So great was the savage cruelty of the military hordes, that at last the emperor himself was compelled to interfere. My armies shall not allow one rebel to escape, says a decree of the 23rd of the tenth month, but the loyal shall not be molested in any way whatever. The people in fear and trembling, beguiled by malevolent scoundrels, are under the impression that the object of the armies is to destroy both the good and the bad. They flee in the greatest confusion, so that the corpses of the old and infirm fill the moats and ditches, and the remainder join the rebels, who use them as a vanguard against the Imperial troops. To think that my people, thus led on to death by the insurgents, should be massacred a second time by my own troops, is too much for my Imperial sensitiveness. Therefore my armies shall not touch one single hair in the villages; not a grain, not a thread shall they lay in the people's way, and severely shall the Commanders be punished in case of any contrary action. Everywhere the Generals shall be instructed to kill only rebels, and not to put to death any person without just cause, even if he should have sided with the rebels and afterwards abandoned them. The Viceroys and Governors in Chihli, Shantung and Honan shall publish this my will everywhere, so that all may be made aware that my armies have come merely to protect the loyal, and that these should lend them a helping hand in sweeping away the spirit of heresy (邪氣); also that all may know that Lin Ts'ing is already carved in pieces; that the conspirators So-and-so are being tracked, and that a great reward is set on their heads, in the shape of official preferment and money; also that indemnification shall be granted to the relations of any betrayer of persons searched for, in the event of his, or any of those belonging to him, being killed out of revenge. But he who hides an important criminal, or, knowing his hiding-place, does not betray him, shall with all his family undergo the penalty for rebellion¹.

¹ *Ki lioh* 13, folio 25; *Shing hiun* 20.

The official world, in nervous trepidation and alarm, slashed away at heretical communities and individual heretics, even in the districts where there was no rebellion. Heretic and rebel were now more than ever names of the same meaning. With threefold zeal, heads and members of sects were dragged to the prisons, and by torture forced to betray others. On page 425 we saw that immediately after the breaking out of the rebellion, decrees to this effect were issued directly from the Imperial throne to the provinces. As a natural consequence, the people in despair flocked to the banners of the rebels. Even Na Yen-ch'ing sadly realized the bad effects of these fatal measures, and straightway besought the Throne to interfere. "I have found", he wrote on the 9th of the tenth month, "that there are some taking part in the rebellion who formerly in no way professed sectarianism. These also must be put to death; but sectaries who take no part in the rebellion, are at bottom loyal people. I should not in the slightest measure dare to cherish feelings of indulgence, but I much fear lest the ignorant people by these ultra rigorous prosecutions be brought into such a state of uncertainty and fear that the leaders of the rebels find cause therein for agitating and misleading them. Bowed down, I implore my Imperial Highest Lord to issue a clear decree, to the effect that sectaries who have not made common cause with the rebels, shall not be punished with them by the Prefects on the plea that they are sectaries and rioters. If an Imperial manifesto in this spirit be posted up everywhere, it will save the ignorant people from being inflamed and misled" ¹.

The Emperor however would not quite unconditionally listen to this sage advice. "Amongst the ignorant people", — thus he decreed — "there is so much sectarianism, that it is quite impossible efficiently to apply the extermination-system upon them. The large military force now employed in destroying and capturing is really only dealing with rebellious people who started the revolt, and so far no orders have been issued by

¹ 查現在從賊匪徒即素日並未習教。亦當誅戮、其習教而不從謀反者原情仍係良民。臣斷不敢稍存姑息之見、但恐愚民、因辦理過嚴、致生疑懼、而首逆轉得借此搖惑。伏乞皇上明降諭旨、凡習教而未經從賊者、地方官不得因教匪滋事概與株連。遍貼謄黃俾愚民免致煽惑。 *Ki hoh* 10, folio 3.

"Us to search for heretical religionists and to catch them. They "who formerly did not profess any religion, but are now fighting "on the side of the rebels, fall within the terms of being put "to death; but they who did not as yet join the rebels, and so "far only practised a religion, do not fall within the terms of "extermination. But it is very difficult to make distinctions on "this head, for I have heard that the insurgents make use of "hundreds of tricks, and for instance in the daytime behave as "loyalists, but at night fight on the rebel side. I can therefore "at present not give a decree on this point, but leave it entirely "to him (Na Yen-ch'ing) to decide. He shall order the commanders of the Government troops to discriminate (between the non-"sectarian rebels and non-rebellious sectaries) with due circum-"spection at every encounter. Let the loyal who were incorporated "on the rebel side, but left it again to join the legal cause, be "exempt from the general slaughter, but let any who carried "arms and fought, be put to death without mercy, to the last "man. It shall not be permitted at all to use the term heretical "religion; uncertainty and fear will then not arise among the "people, and the Prefects will not dare to deal with them as "accomplices (in the rebellion)"¹.

And eighteen days later, the emperor decreed that these principles for heretic persecution should also be published in Peking. This state-document, of the 27th, says: So far the Gendarmerie have respectfully obeyed My orders to institute prosecutions with all energy in the five Wards; but already even before we are far enough advanced to allow our zeal to cool down, there is indecision with respect to the punishing of the guilty.

¹ 愚民習教甚多、豈能概行誅戮。此時大兵剿捕、原係專辦起事亂民、並未指稱查拏邪教。其平素未經習教、而此時從賊抗拒者、即在應誅之列、若此時並未附賊、止於平素習教、原不在誅夷之內。但此事區別甚難、朕聞賊匪偽詐百出、有日間貌爲良民、而夜間隨賊搶掠者。此時不能明降諭旨、顯爲剖判全在伊等。飭令將領官兵于接仗之時留心區別。凡被脅良民散出投誠者則賞其一死、至持械抗拒者則盡殺無赦。總不許揚言邪教二字、則百姓自不生疑懼、地方官亦不敢株連矣。 *Ibid.*, folio 6.

The principle shall be energetically maintained that, when in a tea-house or tavern, in a temple or convent, or wherever it may be, three to five persons congregate, and their meeting looks in any way suspicious, a severe judicial investigation shall be instituted. Be it further made known by proclamation that Lin Ts'ing and his entire clan, to the very last man, have not escaped extermination; that of the adherents of the White Yang religion which he propagated, and of the Red Yang sect which he enticed to join the rebellion, many tens over and above the hundred have been carved to pieces by the Board of Punishments, and their heads exhibited on stakes, but that all those persons were found guilty of rebellion, while the other prisoners were all people betrayed by those rebels as guilty of insurrection. But such as only practised religion, simple, ignorant, misguided people, when dragged before the judge, have only been sentenced to exile, the same as the sectaries among the eunuchs; but not one of this category has been slashed. Now be it made known to all policemen, soldiers and citizens, that Our object is the arrest of the accomplices in the revolt of Lin Ts'ing, and that promotion or reward in any other form can only be expected for the capture or denunciation of any such; as also that even sectaries who betray such criminals shall not only be exempt from punishment, but duly rewarded.

And as regards ordinary sectaries, who have religious books and images in their houses and seek salvation in such things — they do not seem able to understand that such heresy must bring misfortune upon them. Lin Ts'ing, according to his own confession, devoted himself to this for years, and now he is dead, his clan exterminated, his house in ashes; could a worse disaster have befallen him? To the very end he remained obstinate, and — the worst fate at length fell to his lot. Why do the people any longer want to have those "inauspicious, filthy things" (凶穢之物) in their pure dwellings? All they who repent, and deliver those things up to the authorities, to be destroyed or burnt, declaring thereby for ever to abjure their heresy, shall be registered at the magistrate's office, exempt from punishment, and reckoned among the loyal, and should the police or neighbours afterwards accuse them, these shall be punished instead; should it be proved however that they practise heresy again in secret, they shall be punished twice as severely as in the first instance. Edicts promulgated throughout the provinces shall admonish the people to conduct themselves accordingly, and to deliver up their books and images. "Then the eyes of the people, all in possession of

"heavenly (natural?) loyalty, shall be opened to the seductions "(to which they were a prey); with heartfelt respect they shall "keep and observe the Imperial institutions and energetically "co-operate to the realization of Our dearest wish affectionately to "nurture Our babes (the people), to convert the people to what "is right and ameliorate their customs, and to weed out the tares "for the insurance of rest and peace to the loyalists"¹.

One communication in this decree should not escape our notice. It says that Lin Ts'ing belonged to the sect of the White Yang, and had drawn the sect of the Red Yang into the rebellion. The *Ki lioh* (chap. 14, folio 8) gives in this same decree the name of the first-named sect as White Ocean, which is the name of Lin Ts'ing's sect, as we saw on p. 421. The conclusion therefore is, that White Yang and White Ocean are two names indicating the same sect, in fact are one and the same term, considering that the Chinese word for Ocean (洋) also reads Yang. A further conclusion is, that the Red Yang and the Red Ocean are also the same sect. Nowhere do we find anything further about the meaning of the names Red Ocean and White Ocean, than what we have given on page 421. We may, moreover, now take it for granted that the White and the Red Yang sects are identical with that of the Eight Diagrams, or at any rate are very closely connected with it.

We now know from the Imperial decrees that the heresy-hunt was continued unrelentingly; that simple membership of a religion was punished with deportation and slavery, and pardon existed only for renegades, who in exchange for their conversion were placed under official control — which means, in China, that they became a perpetual butt for the extortions of the mandarin and their crew. Imperial providence furnished this mandarin with a useful manual for heresy-hunting. In a decree of the 25th of the tenth month the emperor communicates, that a late Chief of the Provincial Civil Service, called Yeh Pei-sun 葉佩蓀, had produced a booklet containing hints and suggestions how best to track heresies and heretics in their hiding-places, and that this inestimable work had been presented to the Throne by his son, the Censor Yeh Shao-kwei (see p. 415). The emperor hereby makes known to the Chancery that the book may do excellent service in instructing the mandarin how to distinguish the loyal from the tares, evil

¹ 後百姓具有天良當開悟迷、恪守王章、勉副朕愛育赤子、化民移俗、除莠安良之至意. *Shing hiun*, 100.

Ki lioh 14, folio 8.

practices from good ones. It is therefore to be printed at the expense of the State, and to be presented to all Viceroys and Governors, with instructions to have it reprinted and distributed among their subordinates¹. We have never seen a copy of it.

On the 23rd of the eleventh month there appeared an Imperial decree which relates in clear outline how unmercifully the heretics were treated during this campaign against the insurgents. Of the two or three hundred inhabitants of the village of Lin Ts'ing and the adjacent hamlets immediately connected with the rebellion, not one shall slip through the net. For them no mercy. He who captures one of the chief delinquents shall be promoted, or, if not a mandarin, he shall be rewarded in money. But in the arrests constantly taking place, the guilty and the innocent are mixed up together, and this has been particularly the case since the 15th of the tenth month. Persons have been arrested who had done nothing wrong beyond practising their religion (習教); the examining mandarins needlessly wasted their time over these, and allowed the really guilty to slip through the net. Moreover, all this persecution of the innocent has created a fatal anxiety and unrest amongst the people; the end must be that at the next New Year they will not venture to worship their gods, nor to burn candles in their honour, or fire off crackers. This fostering of fear and unrest must be put a stop to; I really cannot bear to think that one innocent person should be put to death. Let it be proclaimed throughout the capital and outside, that with the exception of some weeds, all the others are "my good and loyal babes" (朕善良赤子), who should quietly keep to their daily business, and never mind the rumours that are afloat. In those proclamations, false accusers shall be reminded that the law demands, that the same punishment which would be inflicted for the crime of which they accuse another, must be inflicted upon themselves, so that they themselves run every risk of being punished as rebels. The ignorant folk, seeking salvation in the worship of heretical gods and having forbidden books and writings, need not indiscriminately be reckoned to belong to the riotous elements. If they will burn or destroy their images and writings, and denounce themselves as renegades before the magistrates, they shall go unpunished².

Prevention is better than cure. This thesis had evidently got hold of the Imperial mind, and set it thinking how to intensify

¹ *Shing hiun* 100,

² *Ki loh* 20, folio 14. *Shing hiun* 12.

the laws for the smothering of heresy in its birth. On the 27th of the eleventh month (19 Dec.) a decree was issued, ordering that henceforth every Prefect of a department or district forthwith after his installation should institute a careful search for sects in his dominion, and if any be discovered, should immediately open a persecution¹. To this day this mandate appears among the appendages of the Law against Heresy, and we gave a resumé of it when treating of this law (p. 145).

The rôle assigned to Tung Kao and the members of the Board of Punishments, was not merely that of rebel-hunter and rebel-butcher, but also of heresy-hunter. On this same 27th day, the emperor confirmed the sentence of exile with slavery to the New-Frontier Province, pronounced against three female heretics, and seven women, who because of their relationship to those three, had to be made harmless; and finally, thirteen other women, and eight children with their mothers were condemned to slavery. At the same time, that supreme court of justice informed the emperor, that already one hundred and fifty women had been sent up to Kwangtung, Fuhkien, Szě-ch'wen, and Kansuh². And again on that same day the emperor decreed, that the large number of persons on this occasion sent into exile, and given as slaves to the Manchu garrisons, consisted exclusively of such as had deserved death, but were spared because he hesitated to make executions on so large a scale. The commanders of the garrisons were instructed, immediately upon the arrival of the exiles to keep them separate from each other, and to treat them with great severity, and especially to watch whether they again indulged in heresies, in which case they were to have them at once executed on the spot without mercy, and to communicate any such transactions to the Throne³.

To crown all the anti-heretical state-transactions of that day, a decree was issued, in which all Viceroys and Governors were instructed to see to the public reading of the Sage Edict with renewed zeal. This ordinance, being still found in various editions of the Code of Laws, side by side with the Law against Heresy, was mentioned by us on pp. 144—145.

The great sanguinary council at Peking relentlessly continued to condemn rebels and heretics. On the 15th of the eleventh month three more state-enemies were carved to death, three lost

¹ *Ki lioh* 22, folio 23. *Shing hiun* 100.

² *Ki lioh* 22, folio 25.

³ *Ki lioh* 22, folios 25 and 26; *Shing hiun* 100.

their heads, two corpses were cut in pieces, thirty-eight relatives and connections of the Liu 劉 and Li 李 families condemned to slavery outside the realm¹. Even upon the departed ancestors of the chief rebels the tyrant vented his wrath, lest their manes should be active and succour their guilty offspring. On the 21st of the eleventh month the Board of Punishments informed him that Tung Kwoh-t'ai 董國太, a sister's son of Lin Ts'ing, who for weeks together had been used as the chief means from whom to extract by torture the names of relations, fellow-sectaries and accomplices, and who had even been examined by the emperor himself² — had not been able to tell where the grave of Lin Ts'ing's grandfather was, but he had mentioned the graves of his father and mother at Sung-kia-chwang, and that of his first wife, and also some persons who would be able to point out these graves. Thereupon the emperor instructed a General to accompany the Prefect to the place, find the graves, have them opened in their presence, and the contents burnt³. It appears from the documents in more than one place, that such violation of graves was the usual practice of the high functionaries entrusted with the suppression of rebellion. Tung Hing, the Governor of Shantung, rejoiced his Imperial master on the 21st of the eleventh month with a long account of his doings in this matter. Concerning the bodies found in the graves of the family of Sū Ngan-kwoh, the defender of Tao-kheu (see p. 435), which were situated in the neighbourhood of Ch'ang-yuen, the warriors entrusted with the destruction had reported that the skulls of his great-great-grandparents were green, and those of his great-grandparents quite red; the body of his grandfather was wrapped in red vines, that of his grandmother covered with long, grey hair. The bodies of his father, mother and wife, just buried, were cut in pieces and burnt, and the ashes scattered to the winds. From the brains of one of these women, fluid was still flowing. "The ashes", thus wrote that eminent dignitary, "should be strewn out on the highroad, to be trodden down by cart-horses, in order that the spirit of mischief might evaporate, and the human hearts find satisfaction"⁴. Also Li Wen-Ch'ing's family-

1 *Ki lioh* 19, folio 22.

2 *Ki lioh*, Introd. folio 9.

3 *Ki lioh* 20, folio 34.

4 當將骨灰散播大道、俾車馬踐踏、以消戾氣而快人心。

graves, situated near Hwah, were opened on the 13th of that same month; but we find no particulars about this odious business¹.

On the 10th day of the twelfth month the emperor again confirmed a sentence pronounced by Tung Kao and his tribunal upon real or so-called accomplices in the rebellion, sectaries, and their relatives. Fifteen of them were carved in pieces; in the case of eleven others, amongst whom was Tung Kwoh-t'ai, the execution of this same sentence was deferred, because they might be wanted for further examinations. Four who had heard of a plot, but not informed the authorities, were beheaded; two little boys who had sold white scarfs for badges, were strangled. One person who had died in prison, was cut in pieces. Sixteen sectaries were deported to Turkestan, to become slaves to the Oelöt; thirteen of them bore the surname of Han 韓, and seven of this number, judging from their personal names, were brothers, and four others likewise. The same fate befell ten relations of theirs, among whom were women. Frequently it appears from the documents that all ordinary members of sects who fell in the hands of the persecutor and could not be convicted of any other crimes, were banished. On the 17th of the twelfth month, that is but a few days after the fall of Hwah, the emperor decreed, at the proposal of the Board of Punishments, that in future all propagandists and heads of the sects of the White Yang, the White Lotus, and the Eight Diagrams should be strangled, and the members banished to Turkestan and given in slavery to the Oelöt, but that the members of the Red Yang communities and all other sects should be sent up to Urumchi and to the garrisons in the distant border regions. Promulgation of this decree was to take place in Peking by the care of the General Commandant of the Gendarmerie, and in the provinces by the Viceroys, Governors, and Military Commanders².

Meanwhile the siege of Hwah was carried on with vigour. At the commencement of the twelfth month the emperor set his Generals a short time for the taking of the city, with a view to the approaching New Year's festivities; and on the eleventh day he commanded them to take such good measures that not one rebel could escape at the conquest³. After blowing up the gates and walls in different parts by means of mines, the besie-

¹ *Ki lioh* 20, folio 19.

² *Ki lioh* 27, folio 5.

³ *Ki lioh* 24, folio 29.

gers stormed the city in the morning of the 10th (Jan. 1, 1814), and a terrible massacre followed, which lasted till far into the night. From three to four thousand were slaughtered within the walls, and from four to five thousand fugitives killed outside by cordons set out for the purpose; the remainder perished in the flames of the burning houses, while over two thousand were captured alive. More than twenty thousand women, children and old people escaped from the town; it is awful to think what the fate of these half-starved wretches must have been in mid-winter, delivered to the mercy of savage hordes eager to rape, and to capture culprits on whose heads premiums were set!

On the following day, some fifty or sixty more houses in which rebels and citizens had barricaded themselves, were assailed by fresh Imperial troops. The slaughter was accomplished in the afternoon of the 12th, with the help of fire and flames. The commanders of the city, Niu Liang-chen and Sū Ngan-kwoh, both known to us, had hidden under ground, and were caught alive with several other leaders. The victims of these heroic exploits are officially estimated at from seventeen to eighteen thousand, while the burned numbered from seven to eight thousand; over two thousand were taken prisoner, besides an almost equally large number of male and female connections of chief rebels. Niu Liang-chen and Sū Ngan-kwoh, more or less severely wounded, were sent in wooden cages to Peking, and with renewed zeal search was made for rebels hiding among the twenty thousand fugitives, or elsewhere secreted in houses, convents, and temples¹.

The confessions extracted from Niu Liang-chen after his capture, are of some importance to us, because they confirm our suppositions expressed on various occasions, about the identity of the sects known under so many different names. The official protocol says literally: "This religion was originally that of the three Yang; it is subdivided according to the names of the colours: blue, white, and red (comp. page 421). It is also called the Lung-hwa society, and, being subdivided according to the eight diagrams, it was given the name of Eight Diagrams sect, which was afterwards changed again into that of Society of the Laws of Nature. The Great Light (T'ai Yang, see p. 220) is worshipped every morning. By reciting Sutras and words, one can escape dangers by sword and arms, water

¹ See the elaborate reports of Na Yen-ch'ing, Kao Khi, and Yang Yü-ch'ün, in the *Ki kioh* 25, folio 36, and chap. 26, folio 9; also the *Shing hün*, chap. 20.

"and fire, and so, in times of confusion and rebellion, great enterprises may be planned"¹. At his second examination in Peking², Niu Liang-chen declared that a certain book, called 三佛應劫書 or "Triratna Book corresponding to the Kalpa", had induced Lin Ts'ing to plan the insurrection. This same mysterious book had brought him the credit of being possessed of a genius (sien 仙), i.e. of being a genius-vessel (仙盤). Hence he wore a genius-dress adorned with the eight diagrams, and a Taoist hat; and at his door a white banner was suspended, with the inscription: 掌理天盤八卦開法後天祖師林大弟子牛, "Niu, chief disciple of Lin (Lin Ts'ing), the Patriarch or Prophet of the post-celestial Period, who opens the Law, and rules the Eight Diagrams of the Celestial Vessel (or the sphere?)".

And so the leaders and principal heads of the rebellion had come to a sad end. Li Wen-ch'ing, emperor (皇) or prince (王) of Heaven after Lin Ts'ing's capture, was killed at Sz'ch'ai; Yü Khoh-king 于克敬, the new emperor or prince of the Earth, and P'ing Hieh-li 馮學禮, the prince of Mankind, had also lost their lives, as well as the princes (王) of seven of the Diagrams, while the eighth was executed. And their Prime Minister (丞相) Niu Liang-chen, and the military Commander-in-chief Sū Ngan-kwoh were languishing in the prisons of the Board of Punishments, awaiting a lingering execution by the knives. Several other headmen were killed or executed, and by Imperial command a vigorous search was made for the remainder amongst the five or six hundred rebels discovered above or below ground after the fall of Hwah. People without number were captured alive; in the encampments from fifteen to sixteen thousand heads were delivered up, or expected³. No doubt every soldier bringing in a head received a reward.

We can easily surmise the fate of the prisoners, and of those dragged from their retreats under the ground. Na Yen-ch'ing and

¹ 這教本名三陽教、分青紅白三色名目。又名龍華會、因分八卦又名八卦會、後又改名天理會。每日朝拜太陽。念誦經語可免刀兵水火之厄、如遇荒亂並可圖謀大事。 *Ki lioh* 26, folio 24.

² *Ki lioh* 29, folio 4.

³ Report of Na Yen-ch'ing and Yang Yü-ch'un of the 16th of the twelfth month *Ki lioh* 26, folio 23.

Yang Yü-ch'un tell us about it in their report to the emperor of the 25th day of the twelfth month¹. They state that amongst them were no rebels of note, and yet they were put to death in number 831. Among the crowds of fugitives, old men, women and children, 400 rebels had been found, meaning, of course, able-bodied men, capable of bearing arms, and about 70 or 80 relatives of rebels, — all these had been duly brought to justice! The reports of the Commanders and Viceroys further tell us with elaborate detail how the scattered rebels were often butchered by hundreds by the pursuing hordes; but we will draw a veil over these horrors. We would only mention the slaughter which took place on the 13th, near Yuen-kia-chwang 袁家莊, and which lasted a whole day, resulting in about 500 killed and 216 prisoners; 241 pairs of ears were forwarded as trophies². Such cleansing-business fell chiefly to the share of Fang Sheu-ch'eu, Governor of Honan, his Prefects, and other mandarins; they also had their hands full in the capital of that province, whither large numbers of captives were sent up for execution.

Although, according to the official estimates of Na Yen-ch'ing³, between twenty and thirty thousand rebels were killed or captured, His Imperial Majesty was of opinion that not enough blood had as yet been shed. On the same day that he received the delightful news of the conquest of Hwah, he decreed that only a few of the leading insurgents should be sent up to Peking, "and all the rest were to be executed on the spot" (其餘均卽在彼處正法)⁴. Not a word of mercy or grace occurs in any of the documents; they contain nothing beyond commands for further pursuit and slaughter, and reports of what was done in that direction.

During the siege also many a bloody scene had been enacted in the environs of Hwah and Siün. The mode of proceeding can be gathered to some extent from a few incidents reported by T'oh-tsin on the 12th of the twelfth month, to cheer the heart of his Imperial master. Within the Khai region, more than ten villages, sectarian inhabitants of which had joined the insurgents, had been "miserably washed away by slaughter" (痛加殲洗); then, with the help of spies and informers among the country people, 919 fugitives hiding above and below ground were discovered, and 256 of these immediately slain⁵: presumably

1 *Ki lioh* 28, folio 24.

3 *Ki lioh* 25, folio 45.

5 *Ki lioh* 25, folio 7.

2 *Ki lioh* 28, folio 28.

4 *Ki lioh* 25, folio 47.

all men capable of bearing arms. Then we read that T'oh-tsin instituted a thorough search, for he had found somewhere a register with 3800 names of sectaries paying contributions, and with notes about the insurrection. A copy was made of it, and presented to the emperor.

We cannot be surprised that the weaker sex shared the same fate with the stronger, knowing, as we do, the important part which women play in Sectarianism. "I have discovered", Na Yen-ch'ing wrote to the emperor in a missive of the 20th, "that it is often the women who transfer rebellion and religion to the men; truly a deplorable state of things! I reckon that during the campaign more women have been put to death than the one woman Sung, born Chang, but I have not thought it suitable to inform Your Majesty of all these cases severally. It has come to my knowledge that, after the chief rebel Li Wen-ch'ing was killed, it was his wife Chang who, together with Niu Liang-chen, Sū Ngan-kwoh, Sung Yuen-ch'ing and other insurgent chiefs, occupied and defended the city, and all rebels without exception obeyed and trusted her. And when the Government troops took the city, Sū Ngan-kwoh and the other heads advised the wife of that criminal to get in amongst the confused stream of helpless women, and to escape from the city; but her voice was heard to speak in this manner: "I would rather die with you; I will not flee!" In that same night she rode out of the city with thousands of rebels round her as covering; they attacked several of our posts, and not until all had been repulsed by our men did this malefactress commit suicide by hanging herself. The soldiers cut off her head, which I forward as proof. Her only daughter has also been slain. As to the chief rebels killed or captured — apart from the criminal Sung Yuen-ch'ing and his connections who died of their wounds — I am now doing justice on all the relations of Niu Liang-chen and Sū Ngan-kwoh. And as regards the graves of the grandfather and the father of Li Wen-ch'ing and of Niu Liang-chen, I have ordered the Prefects to search these out, open them, and hack the bodies in pieces. With regard to Lin Ts'ing, the originator of all those troubles, I must request that his wife, his daughters and his relations shall by Imperial command be severely taken in hand by the Board (of Punishments), in order that they be swept away to the very last, "root and branch" ¹.

¹ 查匪徒習教多有由婦女傳及夫男者、實堪痛

This request was not spoken to a deaf man's ear. That same day the emperor decreed as follows: The second wife of Lin Ts'ing, born Chao 趙, and his concubine, born Ch'en 陳, have been condemned by the Board of Punishments to slavery with the Oelöt in Turkestan; they are now on their way thither. And Lin Ts'ing's own sister, married to some one of the Tung 董 tribe (the mother of Tung Kwoh-t'ai?), has been sent as a slave to one of the Manchu garrisons in the interior. But then it came to light that her master too soon resolved to consider this matter of Lin Ts'ing as wiped out; and so the Board of Punishments ordered her to be sent back, in order to condemn her afresh to a more severe punishment. Considering that Lin Ts'ing was the prime cause of the rebellion, and those women cannot be expected to change their heretical views, it is to be feared that, if one or two of them are spared, the evil will raise its head again. Mandates shall therefore be issued to the Viceroy and Governors of Chihli, Shansi, Shensi and Kansuh, to find out where the wife and the concubine are, and they shall be strangled on the spot "for the extermination of both root and branch" (以絕根株); and the Viceroy or Governor who executes this sentence, shall forthwith acquaint us thereof. But the sister of Lin Ts'ing shall be sent up to Peking as speedily as possible, to be executed there¹.

On the 28th of the first month the emperor received word

恨。計軍營節次所戮婦女不止宋張氏一口、臣未便逐一奏聞。茲查首逆李文成被戮後即係其妻張氏與牛亮臣徐安國宋元成等主事據城固守、各賊無不聽信。該犯婦於官兵破城時、徐安國等商令隨同被難婦女混跡出城、張氏聲言、寧可同死、不願逃走。是夜該犯婦騎馬出城、有賊人數千擁護、撲卡數次、俱經官兵擊退、該犯婦始行自縊斃命。官兵割取首級呈驗。其一女亦經殺斃。所有殲獲各巨逆、除宋元成犯屬已經傷斃外、臣現將牛亮臣徐安國二犯家屬一併辦訖。又李文成牛亮臣等之祖父墳墓、均先已飭令地方官查明掘毀戮屍。至林清係首事之犯、其妻女眷屬亦應請旨飭部嚴辦、以期掃盡根株。 *Ki lioh* 27, folios 21 and 22.

¹ *Ki lioh* 27, folio 24.

from the Governor of Shansi, that the Prefect of the district Lin-tsin 臨晉 had the concubine strangled ¹. And on the 22nd of the intercalary month following the second month, Kao Khi reported that Lin Ts'ing's second wife had undergone the same fate in Lan-cheu, in Kansuh ². The fate of the sister will be mentioned on page 465.

The fall of Hwah brought the emperor into ecstasies of gratitude. On the 13th, the day on which the glad tidings reached him, he publicly declared in a decree that this memorable event, the slaughter and dispersion of thousands of old men, women and children, was owing to the help of highest Heaven and of his illustrious grandfather and father. In this same state-document he conferred on Na Yen-ch'ing almost the highest title, viz. Junior Guardian of the Crown-prince (太子少保); to his sons he gave letters of nobility. Na Yen-ch'ing moreover received the privilege to enter the Palace on horseback and to wear a double-eyed peacock feather, and the emperor presented him with a peppermint bag, used by himself. He also received a yellow jacket, and various other fine things. Kao Khi, Yang Yü-ch'un and other deserving officers, ministers and military commanders, were also liberally rewarded with dignities ³.

But what urged the Generals to such great activity and drastic measures at the siege of Hwah more even than the prospect of all those honours, was the circumstance that a serious insurrection had broken out in Shensi, requiring their presence there. In the district of Khi-shan 岐山, forming part of the department of Fung-siang 鳳翔 (map, p. 313), there are some mountains, called San-ts'ai-hiah 三才峽, inhabited by wood-merchants. These procured their merchandise from the so-called Old Forests (老林), which during the great religious rebellion at the commencement of the present emperor's reign had formed a retreat and place of refuge for the rebels. In the autumn, on account of a dearth, these traders had stopped business, and the wood-cutters were for the greater part without work and bread. They therefore went out, sword in hand, to procure themselves food, attracted all kinds of hungry and turbulent people to their banners, and soon proved too strong for the provincial troops. Directly after the fall of Hwah, Yang Yü-ch'un and Yang Fang

¹ *Ki lioh* 33, folio 33.

² *Ki lioh* 38, folio 40.

³ *Ki lioh* 25, folio 42. *Shing hiun* 20.

proceeded thither. On the 4th of the first month, the insurgents, amongst whom one Wan Wu 萬五 played a conspicuous part, sustained a defeat, followed by a series of minor ones; and a hunt was made for the extermination of their scattered remnants. These even crossed the frontiers of Hupeh and Szě-ch'wen, and it would appear from the official correspondence, printed in full in the *Ki lioh* (chap. 25 and foll.), that there was awful bloodshed, especially during the first month. We find no indications that sectarianism was mixed up in this rebellion.

On the 20th of the twelfth month, a sentence pronounced by the Board of Punishments was submitted to the emperor, and immediately sanctioned. Thirteen persons were cut in pieces; two accomplices who had not joined in the insurrection and had remained at home, and also one who had accepted a white scarf, were beheaded; nine who had of their own free will bought or made ready such linen badges, were strangled, and the corpse of one who had succumbed in prison was cut in pieces. Of course the heads of the victims slashed or beheaded were exhibited on stakes. Five sectaries of both sexes were sent into slavery to the Oelöt in Turkestan; five apostates of the sect, who had not reported themselves to the authorities, were sent as garrison-slaves to Urumchi; four who had neglected to betray any accomplices known to them, were scourged and banished. Eleven children of one of the male rebels, and nineteen relatives of one of the females were exiled as slaves¹.

The general heresy-hunt which preceded the rebellion and was continued with redoubled force during the campaign, was most furiously carried on in Kü-luh, the unfortunate district where, as we are aware (p. 409), a heresy-hunt on a large scale raged in 1811 and 1812 under direction of the Viceroy Wen Ch'ing-hwui. From the first moment that the rebellion broke out, disturbances of some importance naturally occurred here, against which the Viceroy and his Prefects at once took rigorous measures. On the 26th day of the twelfth month Chang Hū sent a circumstantial report to the emperor of all the late transactions against the heretics of that district. Five and twenty years before, on the occasion of a persecution of the Mahayana sect, a certain Li King 李經 had been sentenced to strangulation, but thus far this man had been detained in prison, and the sentence not carried out. One of his adherents, Chang Kiu-ch'ing, who, as mentioned on p. 410, was sought for in the preceding year, had

¹ *Ki lioh* 27, folio 42.

calculated that Li King's son, Li Chung-ts'iu 李中秋, would accomplish something great when twenty-five years old. Further calculation had shown that the nineteenth year of the Kia khing period (1814) was the last year of a kalpa; and so they anticipated the 25th birthday of this promising Li Chung-ts'iu, prepared banners and seals for him, and wrote his title of honour Li Shing-yuen 李盛元 thereon. In honour of this incarnation of Buddha, coloured flags were made; the various Mahayana societies were called together, and the 29th day of the second moon, 1814, was appointed as the day for rising in open rebellion and storming the prisons. The plotters made common cause with the rebels in the south, and so the matter got wind. In the examination of Li Chung-ts'iu it was found that he was only twenty years old, and that for purposes of their own they had made him out to be five years older. Chang Hū proposed that the principal in this matter, one T'ien Khoh-khi 田克岐, together with Li King and Li Chung ts'iu and the heads of the various divisions of the sect, ten in number, should be cut in pieces. Nine persons who had accepted flags and then dispersed, were to be beheaded; fifteen who had also received flags, but remained at home, were found to be people who at a previous persecution of the Mahayana sect had abjured their faith, and they were therefore also to be beheaded; and the whole family of Li King was to be punished together with him. Fifty-seven persons who had bought flags, but at the discovery of the plot had immediately reported themselves to the authorities, were to be banished, scourged, or exposed in the cangue; Chang Kiu-ch'ing and other fugitives were to be searched for¹. Of course the emperor was not loth to confirm this sentence. He also approved of the proposal for promotion of the Prefect of Shun-teh 順德, who had discovered the matter, and the deportation of the officers and functionaries who had not prevented Li King in his prison from having a hand in the conspiracy. And the family of Chang Kiu-ch'ing had to be exterminated or exiled². On this same day, the 27th of the first month, the emperor moreover confirmed the death-warrant of two others who had received or made white flags, the banishment of six to the frontier regions, and the flogging of several other persons³.

On the 28th of the twelfth month the mandarin entered

¹ *Ki lioh* 29, folios 6 and foll.

² *Ki lioh* 33, folios 17 and foll.

³ *Ki lioh* 33, folios 14 and foll.

the customary period of rest at the change of the year. Not until the 4th day of the first moon were Imperial state-documents issued again. The first we come to is a report of Na Yen-ch'ing about a new miracle wrought by Kwanti, the great God of War. On the memorable day of the conquest of Hwah, when there was such furious fighting in the lanes and houses, and the troops had formed cordons round the city to capture or slay the fugitives to the last man, a band of rebels forced their way through a breach in the wall. There was no moon, and so the army was unable to attack and annihilate them; but suddenly from a neighbouring temple fire and light shot forth, and the two or three thousand rebels could be killed or caught as if in broad daylight. With the help of the troops within the walls over a thousand were slain, and the rest thrown back into the city. For three more days and nights the carnage continued, and not one man or woman escaped from the net. Afterwards I found out that this temple was dedicated to Kwanti. The building was burnt to the ground, but the image stood erect, unhurt, without a suspicion of damage upon it. "All this is owing to Your Imperial fortune-bringing Majesty, which induced the spirit of that god to help and protect us" (是皆仰仗皇上福威神靈翊衛). The temple was to be rebuilt under Government care. And the Governor of Honan proposed that a board should be affixed therein, inscribed with characters of the emperor's own handwriting¹. These sublime trophies of official religious toleration may probably be seen to this day.

The first faint spark of humane feeling in this terrible chaos of destruction and slaughter, glimmers in the following state-document of the 4th of the first month. Upon one of the prisoners, thus Na Yen-ch'ing had reported, three books had been found with 3800 names of sectaries (see p. 451), principally from the districts Hwah and Siün, who had contributed moneys and victuals, and also another list of names. All these persons had been carefully traced and searched for in the villages, but they had been found for the greater part to have already lost their lives. Among these contributors there were a great many women. These, the emperor had decreed, need not be sentenced; "one side of the net therefore was opened, thanks to the compassion of Your Imperial Majesty for those ignorant creatures" (仰見我皇上矜卹愚蒙、網開一面); as a matter of fact the majority of

¹ *Ki k'oh* 30, folio 4.

sectaries had in the beginning never thought of rebellion. Now Na Yen-ch'ing proposed that the other persons also not yet arrested should not be hunted after any further, in order that rest might be restored in the lately pacified regions. That same day the emperor decreed that operations were to be carried on in the spirit proposed by Na Yen-ch'ing, and that only the heretics who took part in the rebellion or were cognisant of riotous plans, should be exterminated, but the remainder "no longer searched out so profoundly" (不復深究). Na Yen-ch'ing shall announce this by proclamation to all the people, and point out to them what a source of evil sectarianism is; he shall at the same time admonish them to shake off their religion, and to deliver up their religious books and images, to be destroyed. But in the land of Hwah and environs the persons mentioned in the registers shall persistently be searched for to the last man, as also all other individuals sought for, but as yet not found¹.

Eight days later the emperor confirmed the sentence of slashing pronounced upon Niu Liang-chen, Sū Ngan-kwoh and P'ing Khoh-shen, besides eleven others, amongst them Liu Tsung-lin 劉宗林, with whom the registers above-mentioned had been found, and upon a man seventy-one years old, called Liang Kien-chung 梁健忠. Presumably the sentence was carried out that same day. Niu Liang-chen and Sū Ngan-kwoh, we read in one of the documents, had suitable remedies given them for their wounds, to prevent them from dying before their execution. Four conspirators were condemned by this same verdict to be beheaded, eleven relatives and one sectary sentenced to exile and slavery².

The most sanguinary scenes of the drama having now been enacted, the Government decrees henceforth treat mostly of measures with regard to the establishment of military forces in the subjugated and devastated districts. A few even relate to actual or paper measures for rendering support to the destitute remnants of the people. But the hungry pursuit of scattered bands and single individuals was not slackened. The starving, roving, plundering groups whose fields were destroyed, their villages burnt, their families exterminated, were mercilessly slain. If these should come to molest the rural population, and, in order to intimidate them, use the word White Lotus, then — the proclamations go on to say — they shall be treated as actual insurgents of that sect. For the rest, sectaries in general were admonished

¹ *Ki lioh* 30, folio 14.

² *Ki lioh* 31, folio 3.

to forsake their religion, and the promise was held out to them that they should no longer be seized indiscriminately.

To all the loss of life incident to these sad consequences of the rebellion, we have yet to add the victims of a drought and famine which visited more particularly the north of Honan in that same year. If any starving people apply for food at the Government stores, they shall denounce to the mandarins in charge — thus say the edicts — all sectaries among them, or any who have made common cause with the rebels, in order that the tares may be properly sifted out from the loyal elements¹. It was not until the 17th that, on the proposal of the Censor Hia Siu-sü 夏修恕, a decree was issued, threatening punishment for rash arrests of innocent persons, for even among the prisoners sent up to Peking there were discovered several victims of such practices. True, the innocent would be set at liberty again; but meanwhile their households were scattered or exterminated, their possessions destroyed; they were ruined for ever. False accusers therefore are to be punished. But as for reprimanding or punishing the mandarins who lightly accepted false accusations — not a word².

At his examination, Lin Ts'ing confessed that he had been in possession of a heretical book, now hidden somewhere in his house. A search was made for it, but without result. When Niu Liang-chen at his trial also made mention of it (see page 449), the house was once more ransacked, and the book found in a hole in the wall. This dangerous heretical thing bore the title of 三佛應劫統觀通書, which probably means: "Triratna-Almanac answering to the Kalpa, for Universal Consultation". It consisted of two chapters, and was, as the title-page indicated, obtained from the village Wang-kia-chwang 王家莊, in the district of Yoh-yang 岳陽, in Shansi. On the 17th the emperor decreed, that any manuscript copies of this seditious, heretical book, which might be in circulation, were to be searched for by Heng Ling (p. 425), Governor of Shansi, and forwarded to the Council of State for destruction, and that the owners were to be strictly examined, in order to get at the authors or printers. For, thus the emperor decreed the next day, "such heresies cheating and "misleading the ignorant rural population, were used at the time "by Lin Ts'ing to deceive the people. Upwards, this book violates "the authority of Heaven; therefore, however deeply hidden, and

¹ *Ki hoh* 31, folios 12—15.

"well secreted for months together, it has been at last discovered and destroyed, and prevented from remaining in existence in this world, the more so as those people in open rebellion are not allowed to exist between the canopy of heaven and the soil of the earth"¹. Once again the Gendarmerie of the Imperial capital, as also the provincial governments, shall be instructed to seize all rebels, both the greater and the lesser; and they shall be brought to justice without mercy, and a reward will be given by Ourselves to any who find copies of that book².

The anger and indignation of the emperor against this almanac are fully explicable. Indeed, from all time it is exclusively an Imperial prerogative to supply the nation with almanacs. The object of the almanac, the book indicating the proper periods for every business of life, is to enable the people, nay to compel them, to perform all their annual actions in regular conformity with the annual course of the heavens, or, in fact, with the Tao directed by the heavens. Hence that book is the natural compass-needle showing the way towards human happiness, and also to the welfare of the dynasty, which is an emanation of Heaven, whose son is the reigning emperor. Without this instrument, everything must go wrong on the earth; the dynasty must suffer, the Government and the people equally run ashore; in a word, the world must be ruined. Naturally therefore, the Son of Heaven, the sole representative of Heaven and its Tao, is the sole and exclusive maker of the almanac; to maintain by this book the Tao, and with it his own happiness and that of his house and his people, is both his holy right and his high duty. Whoever attempts to make an almanac other than his, presumes to alter the world's course on this earth to suit his own purposes, and is a heretic departing from the one and only Tao of Heaven and its Son; he is a rebel, in the highest instance, against the supreme power and authority of these two. Could then the emperor do otherwise than pour out the vials of his wrath upon that book of Lin Ts'ing, not based upon the Tao, but upon heretical kalpas and a heretical Triratna? Could he do otherwise than send forth his soldiery and officials to destroy to the last fibre this vile book, so pernicious to humanity and to his

¹ 當日林清藉此誑惑鄉愚邪說誣民。上千天討、故其書雖深藏固秘隱匿數月、終被搜獲銷燬、不便存留于世、何況顯爲悖逆之徒覆載不容。

² *Ki lioh* 31, folios 38 and foll.

Imperial house? No doubt these measures, taken in Yoh-yang, again furnished a contingent of victims to State-persecution; but we do not find anything recorded on this head.

Towards the end of the first month, the executions slackened for lack of victims, at any rate the official correspondence does not mention any. The Imperial attention during that month is chiefly occupied with the reports, flowing in abundantly, about the slaughter of rebels in Shensi. On the 10th of the second month the Viceroy of Chihli received the Imperial confirmation of the verdict for slashing, pronounced by him upon one Yang Yü-shan 楊遇山 and two other rebels, and of decapitation of ten more. Seven of these condemned men however had died in prison, so that only one remained to be cut in pieces, and five to be beheaded: an eloquent testimony to their treatment received at the hand of this satrap. Their corpses had now to be publicly cut to pieces on the place of execution. Sentence was also passed on one Kao Tan-chao 郜坦照, who, notwithstanding his grandfather Kao Sheng-wen 郜生文, chief of the Li 離 diagram, had been put to death, dared "to imitate him in professing his religion" (踵習其教), admitted fellow-sectaries into his house, and gave them food. True there was no proof that he had made proselytes or plotted with Yang Yü-shan, but — he was the grandson of a sectarian chief, and therefore a dangerous individual who could not be allowed to remain in the land. With another man who had had intercourse with rebels, and one who had acknowledged Yang Yü-shan as teacher, he was doomed to slavery among the Oelöt in Turkestan. The other culprits, not mentioned by number, were let off with a flagellation. That same day the emperor still confirmed another sentence pronounced by the same Viceroy, whereby ten mutineers were condemned to be cut in pieces, and the remainder, also a number not mentioned, were exiled, or chastised with the stick¹.

From the two other provinces no sentences were sent in for confirmation. There, evidently, condemnation and slaughter were carried on at the Governors' pleasure.

On the 12th, Tung Kao reported to the Throne that, thanks to his tribunal, so far 214 persons had been put to death or had died in prison from disease, from wounds or by suicide, and that 369 relations and co-religionists, who knew of their schemes and had not betrayed them, had also undergone punishments;

¹ *Ki lioh* 35, folios 21 and foll.

also that the Board of Punishments still had a large number in custody, delivered up by the Viceroy of Chihli, the Gendarmerie in Peking, and other administrative bodies. He now asked sanction for the carving to death of two, decapitation of seventeen, banishment of eight ordinary sectaries into slavery with the Oelöt, and condemnation of fourteen male and female connections to the same punishment. This sentence also was readily confirmed by the emperor¹.

On the 30th or last day of the second month (March 20), the emperor declared in a decree to the Chancery the insurrections of Lin Ts'ing and of Wan Wu subdued, thanks to the help of Heaven and his deceased father. As a token of gratitude he granted a slight remission of punishment to those sighing in perpetual exile within the realm, in so far as the established laws did not exclude them from any amnesty; but, as will be easily understood, those condemned for partaking in the two rebellions were excluded from this act of clemency².

This magnanimous deed did not mean that heresy-hunting and rebel-chasing were given up. On the contrary, the emperor occasionally intensified the verdicts pronounced upon sectaries. On the fourth day of the intercalary month following after the second month, Tung Kao and his fellow-judges wrote him that they had pronounced sentence in the following affair: — The Governor of Shingking had laid hands upon sectaries in the act of distributing charms. Amongst them was one Wang Shi-ts'ing 王士青, who confessed under torture to have obtained such charms from a female sectarian head in the department of T'ung 通, east of Peking, and that this woman had arranged a meeting at the house of one Wang Tsin-ch'ao 王進潮 for the plotting of plans to cause a rising in the capital. The Governor then sent seven of his prisoners to the Board of Punishments, and the Peking soldiery was immediately set to work in T'ung. The woman in question, Kao 高, born Chang 張, was arrested with her son Kao Teh-ming 高德明 and her daughter, a widow, together with Wang Tsin-ch'ao. At the same time five persons were delivered up from Shantung and Shensi, as adherents of a Yuen-tun 員頓 sect³, supposed to be connected with the matter. It now came out that these women were reciters of holy scriptures, and heads of the

1 *Ki lioh* 36, folio 1.

2 *Ki lioh* 37, folio 35.

3 Can this be the Yuen-t'ung sect, mentioned p. 153?

sect of the One Incense-stick and of Purity (清淨) or the Wu-wei¹, and that contributions were collected and charms distributed as far as Shingking. The ashes of these written charms conferred upon those who swallowed them, clearness of mind (明心), and the power to investigate the human character (見性) as also to escape the dangers of water and fire, steel and weapons. The examination did not reveal any traces of rebellious plans, nevertheless the verdict pronounced was as against heresy: strangulation of the two women, of Wang Shi-tsing, and one other sectarian head. The last died in prison with three other culprits; six remained to be banished to far distant frontier districts. Kao Teh-ming and another propagandist were to be chastised with one hundred blows of the stick, and exiled to a distance of 3000 miles; the remainder, as being innocent, were to be set free. The emperor however is of opinion that of the men proposed for banishment, one more, who had assisted in the sale of amulets, ought to be strangled, the other five banished to Ili, and the two propagandists to Urumchi².

The extermination of heretics brought glory and honour, titles and distinctions to a number of princes and magnates, to civil and military servants of the State; but the very reverse befell Yü-fung 裕豐, hereditary prince of Yü (豫親王), which title he bore on account of his descent from one of the Manchu magnates who rendered important services at the conquest of China by this dynasty. His case caused much sensation in the court-circles. On the 20th day of the tenth month, this prince felt compelled to confess to His Majesty in writing, that he had overlooked the fact that one of his Pao-i (Bo-i) or Manchu hereditary slaves, Hien-san 閑散 by name, a fellow-villager of Ch'en Shwang and the eunuch Liu Teh-ts'ai, had been an accomplice in the plot to seize the Palace; and accordingly he asked to be punished. This prince, the emperor decreed, who in those days behaved like a wooden image and knew of nothing, deserves to be divested of his princely dignity, but because this has been instituted for Tao-toh 多鐸, the son of Nurhachu, on account of his services at the foundation of the dynasty, the heir of that title may receive pardon. Only he shall forfeit ten years subsidy from the Imperial treasury. And all princely descendants are to be ordered under

¹ Another clear proof of the identity of sects.

² *Ki lioh* 38, folios 2 and foll.

penalty of correction to make a vigorous search for culprits among their subordinates.

But much blacker clouds gathered over this negligent magnate. The emperor's attention was directed to the fact that, if this prince had been zealous, the attack on the Palace might have been discovered in time and warded off. One of the conspirators, Chuh Hien 祝現 by name, from the same village of Sung-fah, likewise a Bo-i of the prince, who was diligently being searched for on account of complicity in the attack on the Palace, had before that attack been denounced as a conspirator by his clansman Chuh Sung-shan 祝嵩山 to his cousin Chuh Hai-khing 祝海慶, in order that the latter should betray him at the prince's mansion. In his confession of guilt the prince had kept silence about all this¹. From the documents of the third month of the following year we learn how this court-scandal ended. On the 13th, Ying Hwo reported to the Throne that he, together with Yung-sih 永錫, the hereditary prince of Suh (肅親王), had arrested this Chuh Hai-khing with two of his brothers, and had examined them. The latter declared that Chuh Hai-khing, on the 8th of the ninth month going to Sung-fah, to sacrifice on the grave of his father, had passed the night at the house of Chuh Hien; beyond this they knew nothing. At the proposal of Ying Hwo, Chuh Hai-khing was now handed over to the Board of Punishments, to be more sharply and more strictly examined².

Thereupon, by Imperial command, the house of the guilty prince was searched by Mien-kho 綿課, the hereditary prince of Chwang (莊親王), and by Ying Hwo, to see if perchance Chuh Hien was hidden there; but they found no trace of him. The house-search however led to the arrest of some half dozen more servants and functionaries of the prince, who were given into the hands of the Council of State and the Board of Punishments for a sharp examination. Notwithstanding all these measures, the prince did not come forward with missives or confessions of any significance, and the emperor therefore decided on this same 14th of the month that he should be given over for judgment to the Department for the Administration of the Imperial Clan (宗人府). As early as the 16th, prince Mien-kho, the leader of this department, proposed to the emperor to depose the magnate from his dignity because of his want of promptitude,

¹ *Ki lioh* 12, folio 24.

² *Ki lioh* 39, folio 33.

his persistent silence during the investigation, and his evident hypocrisy.

And on the same day, Tung Kao sent in his report about the examinations made by the Board of Punishments. The prince had indeed been told by Chuh Hai-khing, through the mediation of his military house-guards, that the conspirators were to meet on the 13th, in order to make a riot in the city on the 15th; but the prince had taken no notice of it, and said he would wait for more certain information. On the very day of the attack the informers had written a note to the prince, but they had no opportunity to give it to him until the day after. Afterwards he himself instructed one of the officers of his body-guard to see to it that none of the guards who knew of the affair should let a word escape about it.

Before a high tribunal appointed by the emperor to judge his cause, the prince avowed these revelations to be correct. That same day the emperor divested him of his dignity, and placed him in the hands of a tribunal under presidency of Mien-kho, and composed of members of the Council of State, the Department for the Administration of the Imperial Clan, the Chancery, and the Presidents of the six Boards. Chuh Hai-khing and Chuh Sung-shan were rewarded with positions as Lieutenants to the Military Palace-guard (護軍校); other informers also received rewards, while those who had kept silent were condemned to punishments.

On the 18th, the tribunal demanded that Yü-fung should be sentenced to the penalty required by the Law to be inflicted upon all who, knowing that an insurrection is being plotted, do not denounce the same, viz. one hundred strokes with the long stick, with lifelong banishment to a place 3000 miles away, and two years imprisonment into the bargain. But the emperor, in consideration of the services rendered to the dynasty by his ancestor, acquitted him of all these punishments, and maintaining the forfeiture of his subsidy for ten years, he confined him to his house for one year, to meditate behind the closed gate upon his offence. And the administrators of the Imperial Clan were to take measures to confer his princely dignity upon another more worthy of it¹.

On the same day, Tung Kao submitted for Imperial sanction the sentence of slashing passed on three men, of decapitation of one, and of strangulation of Lin Ts'ing's sister, who, in consequence

¹ *Ki hoh* 39. See also the Imperial bill of indictment in the Preface II, folio 8.

of the Imperial order mentioned on page 452, had been delivered up to the Board of Punishments by the Governor of Kiangsi. The Board had discovered that she had incited several persons to take up arms against the Government. The emperor, correcting her sentence, decided that she should be beheaded. At the same time he approved that six men and three women, either relations of culprits, or sectaries, should be exiled for life and doomed to slavery¹.

It almost goes without saying that Khiang Khoh-tsieh, the Prefect of Hwah through whose prompt activity the rebellion broke out before the conspiracy was fully ripe, the man, in fact, who probably had saved the throne — was not forgotten by his grateful sovereign. On the 27th of the eleventh month, 1813, the emperor decreed that his soul-tablet should be placed in the Government temple at Peking dedicated to faithful state-servants (昭忠祠), and if any of his descendants were yet alive, these should be proposed for hereditary nobility². On the 26th of the fourth month the emperor received a dispatch from Chu Hiun 朱勳, the Governor of Shensi, mentioning that two sons of Khiang Khoh-tsieh had accidentally escaped being killed in Hwah with their parents and thirty-four relatives, servants, and friends when the Yamen was stormed (p. 431), they having gone to their native place to consummate the marriage of the youngest. The wife of the other son, born Sū 徐, was at home, and perished in the onset. The mutineers were on the point of ravishing her, but with head erect, she uttered such invectives and execrations against them, that in their furious rage they nailed her alive to a pillar, hacked her to pieces, and threw away her body, which has never been recovered. The tender-hearted sovereign then decreed at once, that while reading this report "he had continually to wipe away his tears" (揮淚不止); and the never-to-be-forgotten state-servant, over and above the honorable place vouchsafed to him in the temple of Peking, was to receive the posthumous title of Chung-lieh 忠烈, "Burning Loyalty", besides nobility of the seventh degree (騎都尉), transferable to the eldest of each generation of his posterity. His eldest son, Fung-t'ai 逢泰 by name, was at once to inherit the title and personally to be introduced to the emperor; the second, Wang-t'ai 望泰, was promoted to the literary rank of the second degree; the martyred wife of the eldest son received

1 *Ki lioh* 39, folio 44.

2 *Ki lioh* 22, folio 20. *Shing hiun* 95.

the honorable title of Tsieh-lieh 節烈 or "Burning Chastity", also an honorary gate, and the title of Kung-jen 恭人 or "Venerable person", pertaining to wives of mandarins of the fourth degree. And lastly, Chu Hiun was to erect in the district of Han-ch'ing 韓城 in Shensi, Khiang Khoh-tsieh's native place, a special temple for the glorification and veneration of his soul, and of the souls of his daughter-in-law and of the other thirty-five inmates of the Yamen; and the Prefect in office should every spring and autumn present a sacrifice there for the comfort of their souls. And the first incense should be offered by Chu Hiun himself.¹

On the 7th day of the fifth month, the emperor ordered that such a special temple of sacrifice should be built for that Prefect and his relatives in Hwah, and that there also those two annual offerings should for ever be made by the Prefect. Finally he prescribed in that same decree that for the recompense and worship of all the heroes, both male and female, fallen in the service of the dynasty throughout the revolted districts, application should be made to the Throne by the Viceroys and Governors concerned.²

On the 11th of the fifth month, the emperor confirmed the sentence, pronounced by Tung Kao and his tribunal, for slashing one accomplice in the rebellion, strangulation of three, and banishment with slavery of seven persons on the ground of kinship³. On the sixth day of the following moon he did the same for two others sentenced to be beheaded, and three relatives consigned to slavery⁴, and on the 14th of the eighth month with regard to three condemned to be beheaded, one sectary condemned to slavery, and one female relation⁵. Throughout the course of the year the Viceroys and provincial Governors from all parts applied for authority to execute culprits hunted up by them, thereby proving that the chase was still persisted in, although, of course, with decreasing effect, as human game was well-nigh exterminated. An Imperial decree of the 1st of the ninth month informs us, that Chuh Hien (see p. 463) was still being searched for with five other chief culprits and fifty-seven criminals of the second rank. Therefore, such is His Majesty's will, "the dwellings of

1 *Ki lioh* 40, folios 17 and foll. *Shing hiun* 95.

2 *Ki lioh* 40, folio 24.

3 *Ki lioh* 41, folio 1.

4 *Ki lioh* 41, folio 2.

5 *Ki lioh* 41, folio 16.

"religionists shall be searched in secret, and any holes and dens where people might be hidden shall repeatedly be ransacked. "One or two soldiers can do this hand-cuffing business; why then are so many soldiers employed for this work, whose numbers merely cause the culprits to make their escape in time?"¹ The terrorism against heretics, the continuation of which is conclusively proved by these lines, does not appear to have provoked any fresh rising. The sanguinary drama apparently had filled all minds with terror, and thus paralyzed the spirit of opposition.

The rebellion had furnished an unusually large number of heretics of both sexes for banishment to Turkestan, the New Frontier Province. On the 8th day of the tenth month, 1814, the emperor deemed it necessary with regard to this matter to remind the Chancery of the events of 1791, when it was found that a determined stand had to be made against the exiled heretics of this same religion of the Eight Diagrams, because they had preserved their organization and cohesion, and had remained in contact with their co-religionists in the empire proper (p. 347). The measures then taken, the emperor writes, brilliantly proved the earnest desire of my defunct father to suppress the heretical spirit of riot also in the frontier regions, thus to insure peace and order there. And now since our personal commiseration could not bear to sanction the putting to death of the whole mass of people concerned in the troubles of the previous year, a great number, thanks to my benevolence, have been sent into exile. These had deserved a more severe punishment; a rigorous discipline shall now be applied to them, much more severe than heretofore. And more zealously than ever shall they be prevented from having mutual intercourse. The Military Governors of the Northern Quarter (Peh-lu 北路) and the Southern Quarter (Nan-lu 南路), shall, guided by the precedents of the reign of the former emperor, put to death all exiles whom they find occupied in wrong practices, and any efforts to propagate their religion shall be treated as rebellion, without mercy or clemency² — which means, carving to death, and all the rest of it. In connection with this same affair, a decree appeared the next day, in which the Chancery was admonished to remind the Viceroy of Shensi and Kansuh how on that former occasion Liu Chao-khwei had been caught

¹ 宜密訪習教之家、再尋伏藏之穴。一二勇士必能束縛、何用多兵、轉令免脫。 *Ki lioh* 41, folio 19.

² *Ki lioh* 41, folio 25; *Shing hün* 101.

in Wei-nan while carrying letters and documents from Kashgar for the exiled headman of the Diagrams, after having managed to procure passports for his journey from the authorities in the department of Suh (map, p. 313). That Viceroy shall henceforth exercise great vigilance as regards travellers journeying by this route to Turkestan, and passports shall not be given them without the greatest caution¹.

On the 16th of the tenth month, Tung Kao and his tribunal sentenced two rebels to be beheaded, nine male and female connections to deportation and slavery, and one other, who had hidden the young nephew of a rebel and declared him before the tribunal to be his own son, was sentenced to be beaten with the stick and banished to another province. The benevolent emperor confirmed this sentence, except that in the case of the last-named delinquent, "because his crime was so very heinous" (情殊可惡), he altered the verdict into lifelong banishment and military slavery in Ili²). On the 21st and the 22nd, sixteen victims sentenced by Tung Kao were decapitated or strangled; one sectary who was to be strangled because he was privy to the riotous plots, received pardon, and his punishment was commuted into lifelong imprisonment, since, by giving information to the police, he had caused the arrests of a criminal subsequently slashed, and also had informed against his cousin, who likewise was thereupon sentenced to be carved to death³.

And on the 16th of the twelfth month, Tung Kao placed before the Throne the sentence of slashing upon three, and decapitation upon four men, of exile upon five of their kinsfolk and upon one person who was privy to their crime, but had kept silent. Scourging with subsequent deportation was requested for five inn-keepers from the vicinity of the Imperial Palace parks, who had admitted culprits in their inns without properly ascertaining their identity. The emperor confirmed this sentence, but changed that of these prevaricating inn-keepers into one hundred strokes with the stick and perpetual banishment to a region 3000 miles away⁴.

On the 6th day of the second month, 1815, the emperor confirmed the sentence of carving to death upon one, and decapitation upon six men, and of exile abroad and in the interior upon five who had not informed against the conspiracy they were cognisant of, and nine relatives of both sexes. Of the latter, five

¹ *Shing huan* 101.

² *Ki lioh* 41, folio 27.

³ *Ki lioh* 41, folio 28.

⁴ *Ki lioh* 41, folio 43.

women, "guilty of heretical religious exercises" (有學習邪教者), were sent to Urumchi in slavery. The emperor availed himself of this sentence to command the Board of Punishments to make inquiries whether among those previously banished to the Manchu garrisons of the interior on account of their kinship with rebels, any adherents of heretical religions were found, and if so, at once to send them out of the land into banishment to Urumchi, there to pass their lives in slavery.¹

On the 24th of the third month of the year 1815, the emperor confirmed the condemnation by Tung Kao's tribunal of two rebels to decapitation, of one who had died in prison, to be cut in pieces, of one kinsman and five persons who had neglected to inform, to banishment, scourging, etc.² And finally we find in the last chapter of the *Ki lioh* verdicts of the same sort, dated the 17th of the seventh, the 23rd of the ninth, the 22nd of the tenth, and the 9th of the eleventh month of that same year. The sentencing continued right into 1816. On the 3rd day of the sixth month (27 June) Tung Kao and his tribunal triumphantly wrote to the emperor, that so far they had sent him reports about 285 persons slashed, beheaded and strangled by them, or who had died in prison, or had committed suicide; 577 had been sentenced by them to decapitation, strangulation, and exile with or without slavery, simply on account of heresy, or on the ground of kinship with chief criminals, or because they had neglected to become informers. In this same missive the tribunal proposed that one other person detained in its prisons should be decapitated, one kinsman of this man and thirteen fellow-sectaries should be banished within or without the realm, and beaten with sticks³. This ends the series of official documents compiled in the *Ki lioh*. Whether the sanguinary after-piece then still continued, we have no means of ascertaining; but it will be welcome equally to the reader and to ourselves at last to let the curtain drop upon these hellish scenes of Asiatic barbarity.

1 *Ki lioh* 42, folio 2.

2 *Ki lioh* 42, folio 4.

3 *Ki lioh* 42, folio 31.

CHAPTER XV.

THE PERIOD 1813—1820.

While the rebellion raged in the three northern provinces and the country was scourged by Imperial hordes for heretics, both the riotous and the peaceful; while a spirit of fright, exasperation, agitation and sedition was rife on all sides, it is only natural that the heretics in other parts of the realm should not meet with much kindly consideration at the hands of the mandarinates. On the 15th of the eleventh month (7 Dec.), 1813, a decree announced that the Censor Hwang Chung-kieh 黃中傑 had acquainted the Throne of the existence in Lung-ts'uen 龍泉, in Kiangsi, of a T'ien-ti hwui 添弟會 or Society of Increase of Novices, which so far had failed to be exterminated, also of various other sects in Nan-ngan 南安, Kan-chen 贛州, Ning-tu 寧都 (maps, pp. 506 and 342) and more places in this same province, which incited the people with their doctrines. Imperial commands thereupon went forth for the institution of strict persecutions, and to force the members to leave the sect (*Sh. h.* 100). It may be somewhat doubtful whether this T'ien-ti hwui¹ was a religious society, but, as we see, the emperor ranked it on one line with sects. In a decree of the 13th of the second month (4 March), 1814 (*Sh. h.* 101), Christians also were ranged on a par with this same and other riotous and rapacious bands. The Chief Censor Li Kho-fan 李可蕃 had indeed reported that in Kwangsi, in the districts of Fu-ch'wen 富川, Ho 賀 and Chao-p'ing 昭平, and in some other mountainous regions on the Kwangtung and Hunan borders (map, page 506), many members of this Society for the Increase of Novices roamed about pillaging and plundering, blackmailing and oppressing the people; also that in Kwangtung the San-hioh hwui 三合會 or Society of Three in One, had risen again and committed similar crimes, nay, "that in Kwangtung the population often secretly joined the Christian

1 Perhaps the T'ien-ti hwui or Heaven and Earth Society, written in another way.

"religion, and that in the district of Hiang-shan (in which Macao is situated) women frequently became members. In particular it was to be feared that riotous folks would secretly slip into that religion, draw others into its seductions, and thus create disturbance..... Now as regards the region comprising the districts of Hiang-shan and Macao, situated near the foreign Oceans and inhabited by barbarians" — thus the emperor decrees — "of late years Christianity is again promulgated and professed there; if this continues, We also fear that disturbance and trouble will come of it. Orders have been issued in each province to make searches everywhere in the wards, and Tsiang Yiu-sien (the Viceroy), and Tung Kiao-tseng (the Governor) shall issue rescripts to their subordinates to take the necessary measures for severely tracking those sectaries and riotous members of societies, and prosecute them. And those dignitaries shall announce by proclamation that the notables and elders among them are being well watched whether they of their own accord take measures to keep the evil within bounds, and whether, whenever there are members of societies and sectaries, they report this to the mandarins for investigation and prosecution; also that those who tolerate such people must be punished, in order that the evil influence of heresy shall be annulled, and the loyal thus be made to live in peace"¹.

Still a third Censor proved a deserving champion for the holy Confucian orthodoxy by insisting with emphasis on rigorous persecution. This worthy was Ngeu-yang Heu-khiün 歐陽厚均. According to a decree of the 21st of the ninth month (1 Nov.), 1814 (*Sik. h.* 101), he reported to his Imperial lord that he heard that in Hunan, in the department of Ch'en 郴 (map, p. 506), "men and women indecently congregated to exercise religious practices" (男女混雜互相習教之事), and that such things also took place in Yih-yang 益陽, in the north, near Tung-t'ing lake; he

¹ 又廣東民人多有潛入天主教者、香山等縣婦女亦多入教。更恐奸民潛蹤教內轉相引誘滋事等語...至香山澳門一帶地、近外洋為夷人寄居之所、近復傳習天主教、久之亦恐滋患。現飭各省編查保甲、著蔣攸銑董教增各飭所屬將此等習教拜會匪徒設法嚴查究辦。並出示曉諭紳耆人等俾其互相稽察自行約束、有拜會入教者稟官究治、縱容者罪之、以除邪慝而安良善。

also makes mention of armed riots provoked in some parts of that province by societies, which, of course, according to the old official rule, he treats as identical with sects. The emperor orders that the Viceroy over there shall see to it that his officers zealously search for all headman not averse from resorting to armed resistance; such rowdies shall be severely sentenced, but the misguided members of the sects shall be left alone. Thus, again, evidently for fear of a rising, the emperor refrains from persecution *à outrance*.

In 1815, on the 28th day of the third moon (6 May), a decree appeared (*S/h. h.* 101) about persecution in an unmentioned district of the viceroyalty of Fuhkien-Chehkiang. It concerned a "Father and Mother society" 父母會, more than thirty heads and members of which had been captured and judged. The society had secret watchwords, and raised contributions. The emperor confirms the death-warrant of the founder Ngeu Láng 歐狼, and the various verdicts pronounced against the others. He instructs the Viceroy Wang Shao-lan 王紹蘭 to proceed in the matter according to the rescripts given in the Imperial Discourse on Heretical Religions (see p. 382), and also to issue proclamations warning and admonishing the people against heresy.

And from a decree of the 5th of the seventh month (8 Aug.) of that year (*S/h. h.* 101) we learn that Ma Hwui-yü, Viceroy of Hukwang, whom once before we saw in action against the Christians (page 404), had reported the discovery and prosecution of a sect in the district of Ma-ch'ing 麻城, in the north-east of Hupeh (map, p. 352). This sect was subdivided into a Blue (青), a Red (紅) and a White (白) Lotus society, which collected contributions, had one general headman, called Li Chu 李朱, and possessed an incarnate Maitreya, Chu Yuen 朱元 by name. The emperor prescribes persistent, rigorous persecution, and also rewards to be awarded to the Prefect and the heads of his police in proportion to the severity of the sentences pronounced against the heretics: a premium therefore on cruelty and injustice. No details are given us about this affair.

Of great moment was the heresy-hunt, the first particulars of which we get in a decree (*S/h. h.* 101) given to the Council of State in 1815, on the 29th of the tenth month (28 Nov.). Poh Ling Viceroy of Kiangnan (see p. 434) reported the capture of Wang King-tseng 王景曾, a propagandist for the School of Pure Tea (清茶門), pertaining to the Mahayana sect. His relations lived in Lwan, the same department in north-eastern Chihli which was the scene of the terrible persecutions in 1812, as we saw on page 411,

as also in the adjacent Lu-lung 盧龍 district, forming the city of Yung-p'ing 永平 (map, p. 516). This man, with Chihli for his starting-point, made proselytes in Hukwang and Kiangnan, and collected moneys. His followers in abstinence called him Father (爺), and when they came to pay him homage, he received them in sitting attitude, without rising. In every house he was hospitably received, and at his departure they provided him with money. At the family-seat of this miscreant at Lu-lung books are openly kept, such as a 九蓮如意皇極寶卷, "Precious Book about the Apex of Imperialty of the Sceptre of the Nine Lotuses", and another, entitled 真經元亨利貞鑰匙, "Key to the terms Yuen, hiang, li and ching, occurring in the Classical Book of Assimilation with the Tao", i. e. the *Yih king*, besides several others. His clansmen, moreover, are strict abstainers; hence it is difficult to believe that no books of a heretical and seditious character should be in circulation among them, and no attempts be made for mutual incitement and seduction. The Viceroy advises to institute strict investigations in that direction.

The great Na Yen-ch'ing, who, after the quenching of the rebellion in 1813, had become Viceroy of Chihli, reported some time ago — so the emperor decrees — to have captured in Lu-lung one Wang Tien-khwei 王殿魁, and to have examined and sentenced his clanspeople. For many generations these have been established in Shih-fuh-kheu, the village of the Stone Buddha — the seat of a sectarian pontiff against whom we saw the mandarins in action in 1772. From there they have for several years promulgated their heresies over the adjacent provinces, and various prosecutions have taken place against them. Na Yen-ch'ing shall therefore send the right officials to Lwan and Lu-lung, to capture all the sectaries of this Wang tribe, and all, without one exception, shall be sent up to the provincial capital, in order that, after strict examination, the headmen and propagators amongst them may be strangled and the remainder exiled. He shall also have their houses searched, and any of the above-named books, or others that may be found, shall forthwith be sent up to the Council of State, who shall lay them before Us. "He shall do his utmost to have both the roots and the stem exterminated; not a vestige of the evil shall he leave in existence; he shall do his best to destroy that heinous crime thoroughly, and he shall most strictly set aside all indulgence"¹.

¹ 務令淨絕根株、勿稍留遺孽、除惡務盡、切勿姑息。

With this satanic instruction, this Viceroy, China's greatest destroyer of heretics, sets to work. On the 16th of the twelfth month (14 Jan.), in a decree to the Council of State, the emperor gloriously proclaims the results of the meritorious crusade. Na Yen-ch'ing had reported that this Wang tribe was indeed a nest of heresy, a root of evil; but the promulgators were now altogether in his grasp. "This prosecution", comments the emperor with hellish sarcasm, "is very good work; I still have a decree bestowing grace upon them. That Wang family in Shih-fuh-kheu in the Lwan department has since the Ming dynasty for a series of generations been at the head of the White Lotus religion, calling themselves heads of the Smelling Incense sect (see p. 295—296); for more than two hundred years therefore this religion has been promulgated by them. I have found that, under ten of its chiefs, frequent lawsuits have been opened against that tribe, and still its descendants persevere with stubborn malignancy. Changing the name of their religion into Pure Tea School, they have committed opposition and rebellion in all forms; their guilt is on a par with that of the rebels Lin and Fang¹; they must be treated as guilty of serious resistance. We command that the Viceroy shall condemn their leaders to the slow death by the knives, as the Law against Serious Resistance (see p. 254) demands, and then shall commission Ts'ien Chen to deliver them to the Board of Punishments, that this may execute them after re-examination, and expose their heads on stakes. And the relations of those rebels shall be punished along with them in accordance with the supplementary article (see p. 255). The remainder of the sectaries, and any who may have been seduced by them in other provinces, shall all, as proposed by the Viceroy, be sent as slaves to the Moslemic cities (in Turkestan). And all the members of the Wang tribe living in that place, also those who have not professed its religion, shall, as proposed (by the Viceroy), be banished to Yunnan, Kweichow, and the two Kwang, and there be severally settled. The rebels of the clans Chuh and Liu the Viceroy shall also forthwith search for; he shall sharply verify their antecedents (?), and after their examination sentence them severally, reporting to Us about the way in which he has prosecuted them. And as for their propagandists in the provinces of Kiangnan, Hupeh and Honan — with regard to them orders have been issued by Us to the Viceroys and Governors there to trace and catch them quickly, and

¹ Lin Ts'ing and ??

“forthwith to examine and prosecute them in their provinces”¹.

To this terrible edict, which sealed the doom of this pontificate about which we gave some particulars on pages 295—296, we have nothing to add. More than ten times, thus the emperor himself declared, its hapless community had seen the mandarinat pounce upon the village where it was settled — and every time, in spite of suffering and martyrdom, sword and fire, it revived, flourished and grew, even sending out its revered missionaries into distant provinces. We see here the great power of religion, even in pagan hearts. Did this time the “Humane Ancestor”, through his bloody Na Yen-ch’ing, really annihilate the pontificate? Was the Stone Buddha village swept away for ever? Or did it rise again after the storm, to furnish afterwards a new contingent of victims to the fanaticism of the State? We cannot tell, for no further information is given us. Nor do we read a word about the heresy-hunts ordered by the emperor for the other provinces.

The reader may notice the fact that the White Lotus sect, and those of Smelling Incense, the Mahayana and the Pure Tea, are mentioned in the above state-papers as identical. In connection herewith we may refer to our remark on page 295 about the identity of the two first-named sects with that of the White Yang.

The squalls following the storm which had raged over the sect of the Eight Diagrams, did not annihilate the Wang tribe only. The same Viceroy of Kiangnan, who caused its destruction

¹ 所辦甚好、已另有旨加恩矣。灤州石佛口王姓其先世自前明以來倡立白蓮教、自稱聞香教主、流傳至今二百餘年。已閱十輩屢經破案、其子孫仍怙惡不悛。改教名爲清茶門種種悖逆情形、罪同林方二逆、必應照大逆辦理。著該督將爲首者照大逆律問擬凌遲、派錢臻解交刑部、覆審正法梟示。該逆親屬照例緣坐。其餘習教之犯及外省被誘入教者俱照所奏發給回城爲奴。至該處王姓族人、雖未經習教、亦如所請徙雲貴兩廣地方、分別安插。該督卽研究祝劉等逆、切實下落、審明後分別定擬、奏明辦理。其江南湖北河南等省傳教各犯、已有旨飭令各該督撫等迅速查拏、卽於該省訊明辦理矣。Shing hien, chap. 101.

by the arrestation of Wang King-tseng, did still more. From an Imperial decree of the 29th day of the tenth month, 1815, we learn he reported that he had also laid hands on a sectary Wang San-pao 王三保, who confessed himself guilty of the crime of collecting moneys, which he had transmitted by the intervention of Yuen Fung-i 阮鳳儀 to Wang Siang-hi and the woman Wang Wang 王王氏, both exiled in Heh-lung-kiang. The latter, together with another exile, called Liu Wen-khwei 劉文魁, according to Yuen Fung-i's confession, occupied themselves with heretical practices and propagandism. Liu Wen-khwei came from Ta-wu-kia-tsih 大吳家集, a place on the frontier between the districts of Luh-yih 鹿邑 and Ch'é-ch'ing 柘城, in the east of Honan (map, p. 298); his brothers Liu Wen-hwan 劉文煥 and Liu Wen-ts'an 劉文燦 worked there as propagandists, and the latter had often sent money to him through Yuen Fung-i.

These brothers, the emperor declares, notwithstanding the condemnation of Liu Wen-khwei, have continued to make proselytes; this crime shall be put a stop to. Trusty officials shall be sent to Ta-wu-kia-tsih, to make inquiries and arrests; these two brothers, as soon as proved guilty, shall be strangled, and two other men who were seen in company with Liu Wen-ts'an when he gave money to Yuen Fung-i for Liu Wen-khwei, whether sectaries or not, shall likewise be arrested and brought to judgment. We do not find any statement as to the fate of the poor village thus ordered by the emperor to be ransacked for criminals.

Wang Siang-hi, the exile in Manchuria for whom these collections were made, we learned to know on page 367 as a Niu-pah man who during the great insurrection in the west occupied a high place among the rebels as a so-called-descendant of the emperors of the Ming dynasty. The fact that we now find him in exile, seems to prove that the Government had attached but little importance to the assumption that the sectaries had appointed him as rival emperor, for if this had been an ascertained fact, he would, without any doubt, have been slashed to death. Possibly he was only a child at that time, too young to be put to death. Be this as it may, it remains worthy of notice that now, after fifteen years, we see him in his exile as a personage financially supported by the sects, and thus evidently having all that time exercised a great influence upon their religious life and propagandism. We hear no more of him. No doubt he was beheaded this time, strangled or slashed, with a good number of accomplices

in heresy. On page 482 we shall have occasion once more to refer to this episode.

A renewed search for Niu-pah sectaries now followed, but the decrees only mention one result of this crusade. According to a decree of the 11th of the twelfth month (28 Jan.) of the year 1816, in Hupeh 364 members denounced themselves as apostates before the Prefects. If in that one province so many abjure, the emperor declares, one need not ask how deeply rooted sectarianism is in the provinces; so strong is it in fact, that the punishing of all sectaries is no longer possible. They who come to denounce themselves are not to be trusted; they do it merely to escape punishment, and afterwards, when the persecutions have somewhat subsided, they relapse into the old evil ways. In Hupeh and in every province the Prefects shall register these apostates in the Yamen of the Chief Judge; and should the registered be again convicted of heresy, they shall be punished one degree more severely than other heretics (*Sh. h.* 102).

This hunt for Niu-pah sectaries was coupled in Hupeh with a persecution of Christians, but about this also we find very little information. All we learn is contained in a decree published on the 5th day of the first month (20 Febr.), 1817 (*Sh. h.* 102). On the same day that the above results of the Niu-pah persecution reached the Throne, official news was received that thirty-seven Christians had reported themselves as renegades and delivered up their books, crucifixes, prints, and other things. Ten Mahayanists had done the same. By Imperial command they were allowed to go unpunished. How is it, thus queries the emperor, that neither from Chihli, Shantung and Honan, where heresies are most deeply rooted, nor from Shansi, where they also prevail, such reports ever come in? In defiance of persecution, the number of heretics steadily increases, and they do not even seem daunted by capital punishment. The example of Hupeh shall be followed in all those provinces, that is to say, immunity from punishment shall be announced by proclamation to all who deliver up their writings, and these latter, after due investigation, shall be destroyed. On the 2nd of the following month (18 March) an Imperial mandate appears of the same tenor, in which document at the same time special stress is laid upon a more vigorous search for Chuh Hien (page 466) and fifty-seven other rebels still at large since 1813 (*Sh. h.* 102).

Other regions also received their share of the intensified heresy-persecutions which the events of 1813 brought in their wake. Even Mongolia was not exempt. An edict of the 12th of the twelfth

month (10 Jan.), 1816, announced that seven Bannermen from the Tumed region had been arrested on the charge of doing homage to the propagandist Hoh Teh-lai 郝得來, as their master. Therefore — the emperor declares — the djassaks (heads) in those parts, who failed to discover these things, shall be delivered up to the Department for the Administration of the Dependencies (理藩院), to undergo corrections for neglect of duty. The manners and customs of the Mongols have hitherto remained pure; they are Lamaists, but not contaminated with the heresies of the Chinese, nor have they caught the mania of the latter for the institution of societies for abstaining from forbidden food and drink. Of late years this has become different; moreover they have been poisoned with theatricals and music. Mandates shall now be issued by the Department for the Administration of Dependencies, instructing all djassaks to maintain a more severe discipline among their subordinates for the preservation of pure morals; they shall also arrest all sectaries, and inform the Boards of their measures to this effect, in order that they may be punished. In case of neglect, the djassaks themselves shall receive severe punishment.

These were evil days for the Christians, not only in Hupeh, but throughout the empire. In some editions of the Code of Laws we find side by side with the Law against Heresy, the following decree, dated the 27th of the fifth month (2 July), 1815: —

"Shang Ming (Viceroy of Szě-ch'wen, see p. 408) reports to Us to "have arrested people guilty of propagation of the religion of the "Lord of Heaven, and to have examined and severally sentenced "them. These native propagandists incited and misled ignorant "country-folk to such a pitch that, once caught by their deceptions, "they altered their minds no more, in the worst cases entangling "themselves in the Imperial laws, thinking thereby to ascend to "heaven. To plunge the minds of men in such darkness that "they, alas, do not even fear death, really belongs to the heinous "crimes. Therefore Chu Yun and T'ung Chui (Ngao?), the chief "propagandists involved in this lawsuit, shall be strangled without "reprieve, and the followers of that religion who proved obdurate "and unrepentant, namely T'ang Ching-fung and thirty-seven others, "must be exiled to the New Frontier Province and given as slaves "to the Oelöt. One amongst them, Chang Wan-hiao by name, is "already eighty year old; but whereas in a former case of pro- "secution for propagation of that religion he was condemned to "exile and commuted this punishment for a sum of money, and "in the present case again obstinately persisted in his wicked-

"ness and proved irreclaimable, he shall not be permitted to commute his punishment for money, nor shall this be allowed to the guilty women Yang and Hia, whose maiden names are respectively Tseng and Cheu.

"But if those thirty-eight persons all depart to the distant cities, none will remain in the district where the crime was committed, to be exposed in public as warning examples. The Viceroy therefore shall select from among those condemned to exile, some with regard to whom there exist aggravating circumstances in the present case, and these, together with the delinquent Chang Wan-hiao, shall be publicly exposed in cangues for life, in their respective dwelling-places, as a warning bright and hot. And Tang Kwang-lin with thirty-one others, who did not repent until they were before the tribunal, shall each receive one hundred strokes with the long stick, and then for three years be banished, while Cheu Khing-shing and 739 others, who after they were betrayed and arrested showed real repentance, shall receive a reduced punishment, and then be set at liberty. For the rest the sentences shall be executed as pronounced. Respect this!"¹

This decree is important because it affords us the rare opportunity of hearing the persecutors themselves state that Chinese Christian martyrs with courage and resignation braved death and torture for their faith. It bears upon a violent persecution in

1 常明奏拏獲傳習天主教人犯、審明分別定擬一摺。此等傳教民人煽惑鄉愚執迷不悟、甚至身羅王法轉爲得昇天堂。陷匿人心慙不畏死實屬可惡。此案傳習爲首之朱雲童贅(贅?)俱著卽處絞、其抗不悔教之唐正紅等三十八犯均應發新疆給額魯特爲奴。內張萬效一犯、雖年已八十、但曾因傳教案內發遣收贖、茲復怙惡不悛、著與犯婦楊曾氏夏周氏均不准收贖。

此三十八犯若概行遠城、其原犯事地方轉無以示懲儆。著該督於各遣犯內擇上情節較重者數名、卽與張萬效一犯于各該處永遠枷號示衆、以昭炯戒。其到案始行改悔之唐光林等三十二犯均着杖一百徒三年、至周慶盛等七百四十名既經聞拏皎悔、著卽予省釋。餘依議。欽此。

Szē-ch'wen, particulars of which are given in the fourth part of the "Annales de la Propagation de la Foi", and to which Dufresse, Bishop of Tabraca, fell a victim. He was beheaded on the 14th September in the provincial capital. The persecution continued for a few years, and passed over to other provinces. The following decree, likewise inserted in the Law against Heresy, also bears upon this episode: it refers perhaps to Jean de Triora, a French Franciscan missionary strangled on the 13th February 1816 in the capital of Hukwang¹: —

"In the twenty-first year of the Kia khing period (1816), "on the 23rd day of the first month (Febr. 19), the following "Imperial decree was received: — Weng Yuen-khi sends Us a "report containing full particulars of the examination of Euro- "peans (or a European?) who had penetrated into the interior "and there practised their religion, but were discovered and "arrested. This lawsuit revealed that one Lan Yueh-wang took "foreigners from Europe into the interior, travelling far and "wide through many provinces, making neophytes, and fanning "the fire of error among many of them. This is the acme of "lawlessness. Weng Yuen-khi shall examine that person with "severity, and after having obtained information in this manner, "he shall condemn that culprit to be strangled; then he shall "report to Us about his proceedings in the matter, and execute "the sentence. And the other criminals that man has mentioned "in his confessions, he shall severally track and arrest, and send "post-haste despatches to every province concerned for the rigorous "arrest, examination and prosecution of such people everywhere. "Respect this!"².

In the year 1817, on the 17th of the sixth month (30 July), Jen Tsung sent a decree to his Chancery, in which, referring to the edict issued in 1724 by his grandfather Shi Tsung and mentioned by us on page 267, he declared that it might be seen from

¹ "Annales de la Foi", for 1829, page 132.

² 嘉慶二十一年正月二十三日奉上諭、翁元圻奏訪獲西洋人潛至內地行教訊明大概情形一摺。此案蘭月旺以西洋夷人潛入內地、遠歷數省收徒煽惑多人。不法已極。着翁元圻嚴切訊究、審明後將該犯問擬絞決、奏明辦理。其供出之犯按名查拏、並飛咨各該省一體嚴緝究辦。欽此。

that state-document how his own politics with regard to heresy had always been congruent with those of that ancestor. The Viceroys and Governors shall now once again be ordered to instruct their Prefects to persist in the rigorous persecution of heretics in the spirit indicated in Shi Tsung's decree, viz. to capture and sentence the heads and leaders according to the rescripts of the Law against Heresy, but to exonerate from any profound examination (概免深究) all the ignorant common people, led by them into error, for if the heads be removed, the followers must slink away day by day. What was meant by such "superficial" examination, was, as usually, left to be made out by each official himself, his severity thus remaining dependent upon his greater or lesser degree of fanaticism and orthodoxy. A still more decisive proof of adherence to the old policy of persecution was delivered by the emperor in a decree of the 3rd of the tenth month (11 Nov.) of that same year. Therein he appeals to the decree of Shi Tsung of 1727, which we reproduced on page 268. After a hundred years, he exclaims, the correctness of the views expressed by My grandfather in that decree, has been fully justified by facts, and the severe measures hitherto taken by Us against heresy were in perfect accordance with His counsels; — well then, ye mandarins, both high and low, henceforth proceed in the same way; throughout the empire, and with all your might, without reluctance or mercy, crush in their birth all religious societies before they have time to develop! The latter years of his life may have broken down Jen Tsung's physical constitution — not so his fanaticism.

We must also draw this conclusion from the decree he issued on the 8th day of the eighth month (18 Sept.) of that same year. Ch'en Yü 陳預, the Governor of Shantung, had reported to the Throne the capture of a sectary Heu Wei-nan 侯位南, who was discovered to have collected moneys on behalf of certain persons living in Urumchi: children and grandchildren of an exiled sectary named Liu Tso-chen 劉佐臣. According to the extorted confessions, as early as 1802 moneys had been collected and forwarded to those people by one Liu Yuen-shen 劉元善 and five of his disciples and adherents, and this time the father of Heu Wei-nan had contributed no less than fifty taels of silver; the total amount forwarded was 400 taels. This transaction, the emperor declares, proves once again how strong are the ties which unite these religionists, how wide-spread are the ramifications of these sects. Khing Siang 慶祥, the Governor over there, immediately upon receipt of this order shall lay hands on these descend-

ants, Liu Ch'ing-lin 劉成林 and Liu Ch'ing-khi 劉成器 by name, and bring them before his tribunal; he shall extort from them an exact account of the amounts sent up, as also the names of all who already in 1802 collected or contributed, in order that from these people also confessions may be extracted respecting fellow-sectaries, and not the slightest particulars remain hidden. Evidently Liu Ch'ing-lin and his followers have disciples in those far-off regions, and an organized system of propagandism. Should a strenuous investigation prove this to be the case, everything must be searched down to the very roots, every person tracked must be examined, and Liu Ch'ing-lin put to death, after due information has been sent to Ourselves of the result of the examinations. And it shall be impressed by proclamation upon all the exiles in those parts, that, having been graciously exonerated from the penalty of death, they have humbly and thankfully to live in obedient accordance with the laws; that, in case they should again indulge in heresy and propagandism, they shall be put to death without mercy; that all who carry moneys or letters from the empire to the exiles shall at all times be severely punished, but that they who, being guilty of this crime, come to report themselves, shall be pardoned.

About this heresy-hunt, raging both in Shantung and in Turkestan, we find no details anywhere. The episode vividly reminds us of the drama we saw enacted in 1791 and 1792 (p. 347 and foll.), and also of the case of Wang Siang-hi, the Heh-lung-kiang exile (p. 476). Some particulars about mysterious remittances of money to banished religious chiefs in Manchuria we learn from a decree of the 22nd of the third month (April 16) of the year 1819 (*S. l.* 102). In Honan, a certain Wang Ko 王柯, a native of Hupeh, was arrested for being a zealot for the White Lotus religion, and on being examined, he confessed to have collected moneys on behalf of one Wang Kū 王舉, exiled in Heh-lung-kiang, a young man of great account with his fellow-sectaries. Thereupon an Imperial mandate was at once issued to the Governor Sung Ning 松寧 to take that exile under very strict examination, and this examination resulted in his confessing to be a grandson of the banished woman Wang Wang, whose history we learned on page 476, and of being aware that since 1813 moneys had been sent to her by Yuen Fung-i. Wang Kū was now condemned to strangulation, but not executed, as he might still be wanted for further examinations. Then the Throne was informed by Khing Pao 慶保, Viceroy of Hukwang, about the arrest

of a certain Li T'ien-chen 李添振, and the discovery that as early as 1799 this man had taken money to Wang Kū in Heh-lung-kiang, had there seen homage done to him three times a day, and had heard him addressed as 小主, "Little Lord". This man must at the time have been only four years old, thus reflects the emperor, and was even then revered as the descendant of a heretic; — this is rank rebellion, and he must not be allowed to live. Sung Ning shall see to his being beheaded; and as regards that other convict, his sentence shall be pronounced when Khing Pao shall have finished this judicial investigation.

And in the sixth month of the following year, by a decree issued on the 21st (30 July) in consequence of a memorial of the Censor Shen Hieh-lien 沈學廉, and with reference to the case of Heu Wei-nan and Wang Ko, the emperor instructed the Military Governors of Turkestan and Heh-lung-kiang to strictly prevent all remittances of money and letters, and to have any persons engaged therein intercepted and prosecuted (*S. h. l.* 102). Knowing now that Wang Kū received moneys through a member of the White Lotus sect, and his grandmother through the same Yuen Fung-i who took remittances to Wang Siang-hi, headman of the Niu-pah sect (p. 476), we seem justified in concluding that the mysterious Niu-pah society was that of the White Lotus under another name.

Persecution about that time raged also in Peking and the metropolitan jurisdiction. In an edict of the 28th of the first month (March 3, 1818; *S. h. l.* 102), we read that one Chao Wen-kū 趙文舉 and 190 others had reported themselves with the authorities as having been misled by the sects of the Red Yang, the Silent Void (靜空), Christianity, the Buddhist or Taoist sect of the One Incense-stick, of the Incense-burners (燒香), and of Pure Tea, which they hereby renounced. It is therefore proposed to the emperor, on the ground of the decrees issued to that effect, that these persons shall be pardoned. His Majesty approves of this, but prescribes that those renegades shall be registered by the Government of Peking, with an object well known to the reader, viz. to be able to punish them more severely should they practise heresy again. One copy of these registers is to be kept in the Yamen of the Government of Peking, and one at the Board of Punishments, and the Prefects of the departments and districts shall have copies made for their own use. Furthermore the pardoned men shall be made to understand that, should any sectaries still at large come to their houses, unaware of their

having denounced their religion, they must forthwith catch them and deliver them up; if they do not do so, they shall be subject to a punishment more severe than that prescribed by the law for the secreting of criminals.

In the course of that year many religionists abjured their heresy in the viceroyalty of Hukwang. From a decree of the 16th day of the sixth month (17 July) we learn (*Sh. h.* 13) that the Viceroy Khing Pao reported that, as a consequence of the persecutions and the sending out of officials to promise pardon to all renegades, forty Christians, eleven Mahayanists, and 389 Niu-pah sectaries had reported themselves. The emperor declares the sending out of those functionaries superfluous, for reasons which he does not mention; — did he fear perchance that their work would necessarily degenerate into intimidation, vexation, and extortion, and thus, as some twenty years before, would drive the people to despair and rebellion?

A Government which knows no mercy for heretics is not likely to possess a spark of sympathy for fidelity and attachment shown by them to their brethren and sisters sighing in martyrdom. All such things are, in the eyes of the State, from the evil one. This is clearly brought out in a decree of the 12th of the twelfth month (7 Jan. 1819), which, as indicative of the line of conduct to be pursued in analogous cases, has duly received a place among the appendices of the Law against Heresy in several editions of the Code. "Imperial decree to the Council of State: — Tsiang 'Yiu-sien reports Us about the convict Li Ch'ao-sŭen, implicated "in a lawsuit concerning heresy, and therefore condemned to "perpetual exhibition in the cangue. Now other professors of "his religion come to visit this culprit. For thus sinning against "the penal laws he deserves to be sent up to the cities of the "Moslems and condemned to the severest punishment, viz. of "always wearing the cangue there; hence it is found necessary to "ask the Throne for authorisation forthwith to send him thither, "in order that such iniquities may be destroyed root and branch¹.

"These measures are quite correct. Li Ch'ao-sŭen professed "Christianity, rejected all attempts to convert him, and therefore

¹ 上諭內閣、蔣攸銑奏邪教案內永遠枷號之李潮選一犯。現仍有習教之人前往訪尋該犯。原犯罪名例應發往回城、從重擬以永遠枷號、應請即發回城永遠枷號以絕根株、等語。

"was, in the district where he committed this crime, placed in the cangue in perpetuity, in order that other religionists by beholding him might have their hearts discouraged, and altogether be deterred and warned. But then his seditious followers came to visit him; this indeed is one of the most lamentable proofs that they do not fear the laws. It is therefore not good that this Li Ch'ao-s'uen be allowed to remain within the empire proper. He shall forthwith be sent to the cities of the Moslems, there to wear the cangue in perpetuity. And moreover, the Viceroy and Governors of all provinces shall be instructed that in every lawsuit against a heretical religion the convicts condemned to wear the cangue for ever shall, as before, be allowed to remain in the empire proper if they quietly do their duty in the locality where they committed the mischief, and live there in obedience to the laws, without doing anything to fan the fire of error, but that, if they cling to their errors and do not awake therefrom, or if they entertain clandestine communication and intercourse with co-religionists and seditious followers, they shall, as soon as discovered, be treated as now Li Ch'ao-s'uen is, and altogether be sent up to the cities of the Moslems, to wear cangues for the rest of their lives" ¹.

Of the persecution of Christians, about which we hear in this edict, something is told us in the "*Annales de la Foi*", VI. The Christians in the eastern parts of Szě-ch'wen, who had been so terribly visited in 1815, were again the first to come under the persecutor's scourge. Many families were accused of having given hospitality to an Italian Franciscan missionary travelling to Shensi; eight persons were executed, eighteen conveyed for examination to the capital of the province, four native priests banished to Tartary, several Christians tortured, etc., etc. In the south of the

¹ 所辦甚是。李潮選一犯前因學習天主教抗不改悔、留於犯事地方永遠枷號、原令習教之人觸目警心共知儆戒。乃仍有匪徒前往訪尋、實屬皆不畏法。李潮選一犯未便再留內地。著即發往回城永遠枷號。並通諭各直省督撫凡各項邪教案內永遠枷號人犯、如在本處安分守法、別無煽惑情形、照舊留於內地枷號外、其有執迷不悟、仍與同教匪徒私相交結往來者、一經查出、即將該犯照此次李潮選之例一併發往回城永遠枷號。

province the persecution also raged. Simultaneously a long chase was made in Hupeh after the French Lazarist Clet, 72 year old; he escaped to Honan, but was caught on the 6th of June 1819, slapped on the cheeks, tortured in various ways, and taken back to Wu-ch'ang, the capital of Hupeh, where he was incarcerated with ten other Christians, and strangled on the 18th of April 1820. Lamiot, a Lazarist in Peking, accused of having exchanged letters with Clet, was sent to Wu-ch'ang and, after many confrontings and examinations, expelled to Macao.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE REIGN OF SÜEN-TSUNG.

On the 25th day of the seventh month in the twenty-fifth year of his reign (2 Sept. 1820) died Jen Tsung, whose temple-name, Jen 仁, reverently bestowed upon him after his death by his son and successor, signifies the Humane. In truth, the persons whom in his Confucian love for mankind he had, on account of their religion, killed, banished, mutilated, scourged and tortured, certainly amounted to thousands, while the number of those who perished in rebellions and wars provoked by his persecutions, ran into myriads, if not into millions. He was succeeded by his second son, the prince who played so meritorious a part at the onset on the Palace in 1813, when by his daring behaviour he saved the Imperial family from destruction; he ascended the throne on the 27th of the eighth month (3rd Oct. 1820), and since his death he is known in history by his temple-name Suen Tsung 宣宗, by which, following the Chinese example, we too shall call him.

The line of conduct toward heresy, followed by this emperor during his thirty years' reign, differed in no way from that of his predecessors. Neither he, nor his Confucian mandarinates did as yet realize the simple truth that the only way to make men peaceful is to make them happy and contented, and that the best way to render them unhappy, discontented and rebellious, is to thwart their religious instincts and to lay these under unnatural restrictions. Confucian pedantry continued to legislate for antiquated abstractions; no statesman appeared to legislate for living human beings endowed with living individuality. Political tension remained, creating a spirit of sedition which occasionally became armed collision with an oppressor whose conviction was that to allow his people to seek their own path to happiness in religion was the same as allowing them to overthrow his throne.

In 1821, on the 26th of the eighth month (21 Sept.), the emperor addressed a decree to the Council of State (*Sh. h.* 80), announcing that the Censor Li I-sung 李肆頌 had sent in a report con-

cerning sects in the departments of T'ien-tsin and Ho-kien 河間 (map, p. 516), mentioning that these people pretended to heal the sick by the reading of religious writings, "learned goodness by the contemplation of incense" (看香學好), relied upon the assistance of spirits and gods, and made people wash their eyes with water mixed] with certain herbs: a practice supposed to enable them to gaze into strange regions; etc., etc. Such things they called "giving life to field-corners" (活畸角), "laving the eyes of intelligence" (洗慧眼), etc. The Censor proposed that the Viceroy of Chihli should enquire into these deceptions of the simple, rural populace, and should set these matters right. And the emperor by the edict in question instructed the Council of State to have this done, also on the ground of the dangerously close vicinity of T'ien-tsin and Ho-kien to Peking. The Viceroy, Fang Sheu-ch'eu (pages 434 and 450), and his provincial Chief Judge O Lin-shen 阿霖慎 were ordered together to manage the business, but beforehand to send out a secret commissioner to make investigations.

A new decree to the Council of State, of the 8th of the ninth month (3 Oct.), announced that the commissioner had discovered that this verily was sectarianism. If there be but a limited number of those incense-gazers, thus the emperor prescribes, the commissioner must manage the arrests and executions in co-operation with the Prefects; but if there be many, the Chief Judge shall come to his assistance, after receiving authority thereto from Peking. And should the commissioner find that there is no question of sects being founded on a large scale, the Chief Judge shall visit all the departments, and institute investigations. If on this journey his cortege should in any way be molested by the populace, or certain influences come to light which cause agitation among the people, then the Viceroy himself shall take the case in hand, without the slightest mercy or clemency for those who foster sedition, but also without unduly spreading such fear and unrest as must create turbulence.

All this shows that the Government deemed its relations with the people round the capital to be in a very strained condition. But this did not prevent Fang Sheu-ch'eu from carrying on the persecutions. We learn from a decree of the 16th of the eleventh month (10 Dec.) that the emperor sanctioned his request to exile two sectaries sentenced to a lifelong wearing of the cangue in their native place. The presence of these stubborn sect-leaders, His Majesty declares, merely tends to make their religion gain

new members, and creates fresh excitement and further deception. Let those men be sent to Turkestan and there doomed to slavery, to which they have been sentenced by the Board of Punishments; and further, at every recurring case of this kind, let this precedent be acted upon.

On the 8th day of the eighth month (22 Sept.), 1822, a decree announced that Sun Yuh-ting 孫玉庭, Viceroy of Kiangnan, had reported that in north-western Nghanhui, where, as we remember, an attempt at revolt was made in 1806 (page 407) in Mung and Suh, sectaries had now raised a rebellion in the department of Ying-cheu 穎州, and more than a hundred of them from adjacent Honan had made an armed invasion there (comp. map, page 298). Over 120 had been killed or captured by the military powers. Amongst them was a certain Wang Wu-pao 王五保, the whole of whose family, from grandfather to grandson, belonged to a heretical sect; several of them had successively been prosecuted by the mandarinat, and still the miserable remnant had had the audacity to provoke an insurrection "under the civilizing (Imperial) sun shining in the bright heavens" (光天化日之下); Our indignation, thus states the emperor, is deep. According to the Viceroy, who personally had travelled post-haste to Ying-cheu, examinations had taken place of the wife of Hing Ming-chang 邢名章, the chief instigator of this mischief, and further of three sons of this man, and the wife of one son who had escaped. One of these captives had confessed that he had once been with his father to Sin-ts'ai 新蔡, a district in Honan, bordering on Ying-cheu, and that, while there, his father had been appointed as head of the sect by a certain Chu Ma-tszē 朱麻子, while he himself had been made 眞紫微星 or "Star of the immaterial Tszē-wei constellation", situated round the pole of heaven; thereupon they had commenced to collect moneys and to make proselytes. The emperor orders that the Viceroy shall capture the fugitives of this family, and that above all things this Chu Ma-tszē shall be tracked, in order that not one accomplice may escape. The fact that the insurrection broke out in Ying-cheu, proves that there in particular many adherents of those heretics must live, making common cause with the insurgents. Extermination is imperative!

Another decree, issued four days later, tells us about the examination of thirty-nine members of Chu Ma-tszē's faction, arrested in Honan. According to the confessions extorted, they formed a

religious sect not in any way plotting rebellion or opposition, and some of the captives did not even practise any religion. These endeavours to revive the White Lotus sect — the emperor declares — emanate from people who on the occasion of former persecutions have escaped; those hundred and more persons of the two provinces who are now in the power of the authorities, must have many accomplices. Through them a clue must be sought as to the whereabouts of the latter, who shall then be diligently searched for; and so even they who hitherto have not stirred, shall be arrested and exterminated before they have time to join in the rebellion. But great prudence must be observed, and no innocent persons be molested.

Further information is contained in two decrees, respectively of the 23rd of the eighth month (6 Oct.) and the 1st of the ninth (14 Oct.). All the offenders, thus wrote the Viceroy of Kiangnan, were killed or imprisoned, except some twenty-eight; the judicial examination of the prisoners had led to the arrest of some thirty more, and from Sin-ts'ai about fifteen had been delivered up to him. One of the prisoners had written on a banner the character 帥 or "commander", and 聖旨, "by imperial will". The emperor declares that the perusal of these reports refreshes and comforts him; indeed, over two hundred persons having been taken prisoner in Ying-cheu by the civil and military authorities, it only remains to hunt out a few fugitives; let this be done with the greatest energy! Proclamations shall be issued to encourage the members of sects of their own accord to report themselves as renegades, in which case they shall be free from punishment. The Viceroy shall see that the extermination of the tares and weeds be done efficiently, and that not one slip through the net. But floods in the Hwangho region require his presence there; he will therefore leave the work of further purification to Sun 'rh-chun 孫爾準, the Governor of Nganhwui.

About Chu Ma-tszĕ we still learn some particulars from a decree of the 4th of the ninth month (17 Oct.). The Censor Ch'ing Yuh-ts'ai 程裔采 reported to his Imperial master that, according to hearsay, this heresiarch was in hiding about 160 Chinese miles south-west of the city of Feu-yang 阜陽 or Ying-cheu, in a hotbed of associations (黨) forming a pest to the country, and committing robbery, burglary, and all manner of iniquities. The work of purification should therefore be undertaken there at once, else the sects would make common cause with those societies, and revolt be the end of it. In fact — says the emperor —

such purification shall be done; with united strength the Viceroy of Kiangnan, the Governor of Nganhwui, and the Governor of Honan, Ch'ing Tsu-loh 程祖洛, shall undertake it.

And on the 24th day of the ninth month (6 Nov.) the emperor finally decreed that the Governor of Honan should look after the extermination of the society of Chu Ma-tszë, of which only few short of two hundred members were already captured. For if only one of them remained at large, in course of time the mischief would break out afresh. And — who could know — perhaps Liu Ch'ing-chang 劉成章, one of the six associates of Chuh Hien, was being secreted in the very bosom of this society, or he might be in hiding somewhere else in the frontier-districts of Nganhwui and Honan. The Viceroy shall bear this possibility in mind while the arrests and prosecutions are in progress.

This heresy-hunt was, of course, by no means calculated to diminish the tension between Government and people. The zealous Governor of Honan at once proceeded to extend the hunting-ground in his province in a northern direction, as far as the district of Yü-ch'ing 虞城 (map, p. 298). According to an Imperial decree of the 14th of the twelfth month (25 Jan.), a suspicious stranger, Lu Chao-shang 盧照常, had settled there in the village of Nan-yuen 南元, and taken up his abode with one Lien Fang-ch'ing 廉方成. This man's house therefore was surprised by the Prefect; resistance was offered, and both men paid for it with their lives. The mother of the owner of the house was taken prisoner, together with her brother; and a large flag, a sword and a spear, as well as a paper doll, were taken: all clear proofs that a rebellion was smouldering there. One Chang Kin-shu 張金書 escaped, but was afterwards arrested, and, thanks to the instruments of torture, betrayed several members, amongst others one Shao Ta-tsin 邵大進, presumably a disciple of Lu Chao-shang. The extermination of this nest of heretics was now vigorously taken in hand. After all that has happened in Sin-ts'ai, the emperor decrees, it is a most heinous crime to have arms and a flag for stirring up the people to rebellion. Orders shall therefore be issued to Yang Kien 楊健, the Governor of Shantung, to search for rebels in his districts of Ts'ao and Shen, which border on Yü-ch'ing. And the Governor of Honan shall do his utmost to get hold of the seven persons indicated by Chang Kin-shu, as well as of the twenty or thirty connected with Shao Ta-tsin, and all other sectaries not yet discovered; and they shall be severely sentenced by him, according to the law.

The reason why the hunting-ground was enlarged by the Ts'ao and Shen region, over which only nine years before all the horrors of rebellion and war had passed, was that the dangerous Shao Ta-tsin was supposed to be hiding there. A decree of the 17th day of the same moon tells us that Khi Shen 琦善, acting Governor of Shantung, reported to the Throne that the Prefect of Ts'ao with a military force had caught this man, and found in his house a broken firelock, a couple of swords, and a whip, but no religious books, nor any painted or carved images, nor writings of any kind which indicated rebellion. Three others had also been arrested, and in Shen three more had been caught; and Wang T'ing-siün 王廷濬, the Prefect of the department of Ts'ao-cheu, had gone there in person to manage subsequent arrests and trials. Of a particularly serious nature was the evidence, given by Chang Kin-shu, that Shao Ta-tsin with twenty or thirty conspirators had resolved to rise in Hupeh, and had fixed a day for this. Wang T'ing-siün was therefore especially on this point to extort confessions, and afterwards to deliver up, for execution, those under arrest to the Governor of Honan.

That same day, a decree announced that Yen Kien 顏檢, Viceroy of Chihli, had reported having finished his task of ransacking the wards for heretics. The many heretics lately arrested in Honan and Shantung — thus writes the emperor — have generally been found to be reciters of the formula: Unbegotten Father and Mother in the home of the immaterial Void (see p. 420); therefore they are all remnants of the rebellious societies of 1813. If they are not exterminated this time, root and stem, they will rise again. Let the military and civil authorities in the three provinces thoroughly do this work, but with great precaution.

Undoubtedly, after this stringent Imperial order the heresy hunt took its widest flight. A decree of the 26th of the twelfth month (7 Febr. 1823) again gives the names of several heretics arrested in Ts'ao, Shen and Yü-ch'ing. They obstinately denied knowing anything of rebellious plots, and said they were merely religionists, but, of course, the authorities did not believe a word of this. Severer examination, more arrests, a still more efficient purging, such is the unalterable Imperial order; the bloody clearance of 1813 and following years was no thorough work; up, and hunt for heretics, let no one of them slip through the net! On the 4th of the second month (15 March) Yang Kien announces to the Throne that he has sent his prisoners to Honan, to be further dealt with there; but then we hear no more of this persecution

campaign. Swords, baskets with carving-knives, strangling-ropes, and sentences of deportation concluded it.

From other parts of Shantung, however, we receive some intelligence about the bloody work. On the 17th of the eighth month (20 Sept.) Khi Shen received in flattering words the Imperial approval of the manner in which he had conducted a heresy-hunt in the district of P'ing-yuen 平原, in the north of that province (map, p. 298). Under the civilizing light of the bright Imperial sky, the rogue Cheu T'ien-ming 周添明 had presumed to found there a Mahayana society, raising contributions and misleading the multitude. He and seventy-eight heretics had been arrested, and in the house of one of them, called Sun Wen-chi 孫文治, they had found deceitful religious writings, a wooden seal, and the stamp of a sect. And the daughter of a captive had declared that Cheu T'ien-ming and forty followers had resolved to start a revolt on the 4th of the eighth month in the department of Lin-ts'ing. Of course the edict demands that a further search and more arrests be made, especially of those whose names were mentioned by the prisoners, and amongst whom were several who in former persecutions had failed to be caught. "Every effort must be made for the waters to subside, so that the stones appear" (務期水落石出). On this same occasion, "letter-moulds" (字樣, seal-signatures?) were discovered of a Father Wang (王爺) of the five ramifications of Shih-fuh-kheu, known to the reader as the seat of the pontiff of the White Lotus, the Incense Smelling, and the Pure Tea, against which such onslaught was made in 1815 (page 473). Should this fact point to the existence of the sect of Incense-Smelling, which has been established in that place for many generations, then investigation and extermination shall be carried on with the utmost severity. Imperial orders have already been sent to the Viceroy of Chihli, Tsiang Yiu-sien, for the arrestation of eleven people in the districts of Ts'ing-ho 清河 (map, p. 298) and Hien 獻 (map, p. 516), whose names have been betrayed by prisoners, and to send them up to Shantung, for the extermination must be as thorough as possible.

The confessions of the girl mentioned above, gave Khi Shen sufficient cause for commencing a heresy-hunt in Lin-ts'ing, the scene of the horrors of 1774. A decree of the 26th of the twelfth month (26 Jan.) tells us that he gave instructions to his provincial Chief Judge, Noh 'rh-king-ngoh 訥爾經額, to open the campaign of persecution in those parts. Over sixty persons this grandee arrested, guilty of various offences pointing to

opposition, e. g. they had changed their personal and tribal names — presumably taken clerical names — and distributed offices and dignities. Such vigorous measures, the emperor writes, deserve high praise. It concerned a sect of the Khien 乾 diagram, and one possessing a flag with the Khwun 坤 diagram on it; both these societies occupied themselves with proselytism and intended to do all sorts of mischief. Khi Shen shall personally go to Lin-ts'ing, together with the Chief Judge to manage the investigations and the trials.

From an edict of the 13th day of the first month in the following year (12 Febr. 1824) it would appear that a member of the sect of the Khien diagram, called Ma Tsin-chung 馬進忠, had formed a plot to surprise the city of Lin-ts'ing, that officials had been appointed among themselves, and official costumes provided for them. More than three hundred arrests had been made, for which feat the emperor highly commends Khi Shen, ordering him to make still more prisoners in co-operation with his Chief Judge, and to mete out general punishment according to the Law, for everything must be exterminated, root and branch. The Viceroy of Chihli was moreover instructed to arrest some dozen persons living in his province, these having been denounced by one of the prisoners.

Meanwhile Khi Shen had carried on the Confucian work with equal zeal in the city of Tsi-nan 濟南 or Lih-ch'ing 歷城, the capital of his province. There, according to a decree of the 4th of the tenth month (5 Nov. 1823), he had laid hands upon a number of sectaries of the One Incense-stick, whose propagandist was Sun Ta-fung 孫大鳳, a cleric (道人) of a temple in that place; one scholar had even delivered up to the authorities a manuscript writing of this sect. Again, with expressions of great contentment, the emperor orders the Governor and his Chief Judge to make further searches, arrests and prosecutions, that not one sectary remain. From the confessions of a man called Tu King-shing 杜景盛, it appeared that "by bending the constellation of "the Bushel (the Great Bear) by dint of longing and craving, they "cultivated their conduct, and thus acquired assimilation with the "Tao, and by a quick process purified their bodies. This is very "uncommon and curious — the emperor writes. Khi Shen shall get "out of this Tu King-shing and his crew the exact reasons for their "purifying their bodies and cultivating their conduct, and do his best "to get certainty in this matter; but their statements about assimilation with the Tao by bending the Great Bear by dint of "longing and craving, is such nonsense and so unclassical that he

"must believe nothing of it. Should, however, anything pointing "to secret plotting or treachery be indicated by it, or anything "connected with lawlessness, either within or without the capital, "then the Governor shall investigate all this down to the bottom "with severity, lest anything of a suspicious nature be left in "existence and at some future time bring trouble elsewhere" ¹.

In a decree of the 18th of the tenth month (19 Nov.), 1823, we hear more about the work of persecution in Chihli, which meanwhile raged as before. The Censorate had directed the attention of the emperor to the existence of a sect in the district of Tung-ngan 東安, between Peking and T'ien-tsin (see map, p. 516), betrayed by a certain Yang Ming-yuen 楊明遠. In the village of Li-sin 李辛 it numbered over a hundred families, who worked with cymbals and drums, exorcisms, and written or painted charms; they held meetings attended by both sexes, collected moneys, and had heads and leaders in possession of heretical writings and prints, swords, spears, and other such dangerous things. The Viceroy Tsiang Yiu-sien — the emperor decrees — with his Chief Judge Fuh Mien 福綿 shall proceed post-haste to this haunt of rogues, situated so dangerously near to Peking; they shall at once commence operations, arrest and examine the guilty villagers, seize all their books and writings, letters and suspicious objects, but they shall do it without any fuss or turmoil, lest they find the birds flown. We tremble to think of the fate of this hapless village; but there is no further mention made of the matter in the *Shing hiun*.

Two years later we find the same bloody Viceroy busily engaged in the work of persecution in the department of Pa 霸, as also in Wen-ngan 文安 (map, page 516) and still other districts. An Imperial decree of the 3rd day of the eleventh month (Dec. 12th), 1825, announces that he had arrested there one Li Kho-hieh 李可學, one Chang Pin 張賓, and other members of the Red Yang sect,¹ and confiscated religious writings. And this evil prevailed so dangerously near to Peking! exclaims the emperor; there

¹ 因羨慕曲星斗修行得道、遽自淨身。殊屬罕異之事。著琦善向杜景盛等詳細推求淨身修行之故、務得確情、所供羨慕曲星斗得道之語荒誕不經、實不可信。如有陰謀詭祕內外勾串不法情事、即須徹底嚴究、不可稍留疑竇、致將來別生事端。

must be more heretics there, more writings, and, surely, also plotters and conspirators! Na Yen-ch'ing, as soon as he shall have entered upon the dignity of Viceroy, to which he is already appointed, shall delegate the Chief Judge Wang T'ing-hwa 王庭華 to that place, to make the waters subside, so that the stones become visible; to the dwelling of every man arrested he shall direct his deputies to catch fellow-sectaries, and he shall send them all up to the provincial capital for trial; and to everyone of his mandarins he shall send instructions to institute strict investigations and to make arrests, so that not a trace of the evil remain in existence. This heresy-hunt was in good hands indeed; we know Na Yen-ch'ing, the man of 1813, as a persecutor of the highest order. But the decrees do not reveal much as to the way in which he fulfilled his task this time. In one of the 26th day of the second month of the following year (3 April) we read that he had caught sectaries who, as he expressed it in his report, used the healing of diseases as a pretext to collect money and swindle the multitude. These people, followers of one Chang Kien 張儉 in the district of Yung-ch'ing 容城, to the north of Pa, kept titularies called "horses" (馬匹), "divergent horns" (犄角), etc., and in the practice of their heretical art of healing they used swords and needles. This Chang Kien — the Imperial decree prescribes — shall immediately be arrested and all possible information forced from himself and the heretics already under arrest, so that all others still at large may be discovered. The ignorant people moreover shall be warned by proclamation against such heresies.

On the 16th of the following month (22 May) a decree announced that Tsiang Yiu-sien's Prefect had arrested somewhere in the department of Jehol a heretic, Sū Hieh-khwan 徐學寬 by name, who confessed that a sectary, called Li Shi-ming 李士明, from the district of Wu-ch'ing 武城 in Shantung (map, p. 298), on doing some work at the house of one T'ang Hing 唐興, had worshipped Buddha, offered incense, and recited something, and was thereupon acknowledged by himself, T'ang Hing and two others as their religious teacher (師). In 1800 Li Shi-ming returned to the place whence he had come, for no one would believe in him anymore; since then he had not been heard of. T'ang Hing was dead, Sū Hieh-khwan was now leader of the sect, and with many followers worshipped Buddha; but they used neither books nor prints, collected no contributions, and did not mislead the multitude. Nevertheless the decree demands a severe prose-

cution; more people shall be hunted up, and not one shall escape, in order that ever more and more arrests and examinations may follow the confessions extracted under torture.

The reader will remember that an attempt at revolt was made in 1822 in Ying-cheu or Feu-yang, in northwestern Nganhwui (page 489), followed by a chase after a heresiarch, called Chu Ma-tszě. We have seen that from that time, as a matter of course, persecution prevailed in that region and in the adjacent districts, although on a scale only defectively revealed by the edicts. Still in 1827 we find the mandarinat there busy at work, and hunting after an aged heretic pontiff, called Chu Mao-li 朱毛哩, who may have been Chu Ma-tszě under another name, perhaps his successor or co-adjutor, perhaps merely an imaginary person continuously haunting the minds of a credulous, suspicious mandarinat which suspected revolt everywhere and in everything.

Now in that year, on the 24th of the fifth month (17 June), the emperor decreed that in Ying-cheu, and also in Luh-yih 鹿邑, the neighbouring frontier-district of Honan, a number of sectaries had been arrested. In the house of one of them about thirty staves of white wax had been found, and besides — the son of one of the chief men under arrest had declared to have been in Luh-yih and there to have seen in somebody's house an old man with a long beard, said to be Chu Mao-li, before whom he had to prostrate himself, and who gave him a red talisman. Another had confessed that the members of the sect used to burn incense, prostrated themselves before tablets on which was written: "God or Spirit of the Religion of the Old One (Lao-tszě?) of the Western Heaven" (西天老教神), and transmitted formulæ to one another, borrowed from religious writings. One of the members had in some one's house given lessons in fencing and boxing, but nothing else had been discovered indicative of rebellion or riot, no prints, no images, no religious writings, nor were any names of former rebels amongst those of the captives. But the ingenious emperor is not easily deceived by appearances. How, he asks, are we to explain those wax-staves and the fencing and boxing lessons? it is difficult to admit that these things do not mean rebellion. And what of this Chu Mao-li? His age and description do not tally with those of the man of the same name who in 1814 was sought for in vain everywhere; everything here is a mystery, but it cannot be difficult now to obtain certainty about this dangerous old man. To this end, the heretic fugitives, a long list of whose names have been extorted from those under arrest, are to be searched for with all energy; they shall be

examined; further evidence shall be extracted from them, and the Governors of the two provinces shall set all their subordinates to work with so much energy that the final result, total extermination of the evil, be fully obtained.

Thus followed another cruel heresy-hunt, with scourging and torture in the yamens of Honan and Nganhwui; but the mysterious Chu Mao-li was not found. He had been sought for in 1814. Casting a look into the decrees on "Suppression of Refractory People" of that year, we find one of the 12th of the tenth month (22 Nov.), in which we read that Yuen Yuen 阮元, the Governor of Kiangsi, who had then just entered upon his office, "reported to have captured "the chief conspirators and principal actors involved in a lawsuit "of insurrection, and had sent in an account of their provisional "examination and condemnation. The rebel Hu Ping-yao, implicated in this affair, had purchased a shabby book, containing "pictures of arrayed troops, with sayings about the word li 俚, "bearing upon mutiny. He had then accosted his fellow-rebels "Khiu T'ien-tseh, Yang Yih, and Lu Shing-hwui, boasting of his "having succeeded in explaining the meaning of those pictures, and "telling them that, if only a man of activity could be found to "take the initiative, they might aspire to the acquisition of wealth "and distinction. Yang Yih then gave as his opinion that good use "might be made of Chu Mao-li in his capacity of offspring of the "former Ming dynasty, and the latter, on receiving their invitation "to this effect, placed himself at their disposal without faltering. "Thereupon they repaired together to the Dhyana-forest (convent) "called the Accumulation of Virtues, and there projected an "insurrection. The word li, contained in the riotous book, they "explained to be the year-name for a Later Ming dynasty: "Hu Ping-yao and the others were invested with offices; they "enlisted comrades on all sides, and gave them sealed diplomas"¹.

¹ 阮元奏拏獲逆案主謀夥要各犯、先行審明辦理一摺。此案逆匪胡秉耀買得殘書一本、內有陣圖及悖逆俚語。即向逆夥邱忝澤楊易盧勝輝、誇稱解得書內陣圖、如得有爲首起事之人便可圖取富貴。楊易隨以朱毛俚可以假託前明後裔、朱毛俚聞邀自任不疑。遂共赴積善禪林、同謀爲逆。取逆書內俚詞稱爲後明晏朝年號、僞封胡秉耀等官職、輾轉糾約人夥、給與僞劄。Shing hiun of Jen Tsung, chap. 101.

This was the sum and substance of the confessions extracted by this active Governor from his tortured captives. It shows the nervous dread in which the emperor and his ministers lived since the eventful previous year 1813, that this trifling occurrence, puffed up by a new Governor hankering after reward, honour and distinction, was fanned into a State-affair of the very greatest moment. We could almost smile at their dread and credulity, were it not for the bloodshed and woe which the ensuing prosecutions, as ever in China, entailed. The emperor highly commended Yuen Yuen for the important discovery; he granted him the title of Junior Guardian of the Heir-Apparent, besides giving him various presents, and blaming the authorities in Chihli for not having discovered this revolt, though it must have been brooding also in their province for many years. Seventeen principal captives of Yuen Yuen had already been slashed or beheaded; thirty-five he had condemned to perpetual exile, but the emperor changed this sentence into strangulation. And His Majesty decreed that Chu Mao-li and several others were to be searched for diligently, and "for the relief of the hearts of men" immediately slashed; the Viceroy and Governors of the six provinces round Kiangsi were instructed to hunt him out, and finally some nineteen men as yet at large were to be caught and, if forced to confess they had acknowledged Chu Mao-li as their head, to be sentenced to the slow death by the knives. All those (who had accepted titles or dignities from that heresiarch were to be beheaded.

The fact that this Chu Mao-li could not be caught, bears out the supposition that he was a hallucination created by mere nervousness and fear; perhaps he was an invention of Yuen Yuen, who may have been a tiger in human form, desirous of laurels at the cost of his people's lifeblood. We read no more of him until we come to 1833. According to a decree of the 7th of the first month (26 Febr.), the Governor of Nganhwui, the same Teng Ting-ching 鄧廷楨 who ruled there already in 1827, then announced that in the previous year he had received intelligence from several districts that Chu Mao-li was at the head of a sect in Ying-cheu, twelve members of which had been captured, for which reason the Governor asked for Imperial orders to institute immediately and everywhere a thorough search after him and his crew. This same decree prescribed, that whereas he might be hiding somewhere in Fuhkien, this province was also to be included in the hunting-ground. But according to a decree of the 29th of the sixth month, the Governor there reported to have found in his territory no sign or symptom of Chu Mao-li, neither of any persons

invested by him with dignities. After that we hear no more of that heresiarch.

In 1828, a decree of the 18th day of the first month (3 March) states the arrest of some ten sectaries in Ho-kien (comp. p. 488), in central Chihli. The emperor demands that further disclosures shall be forced from these captives, which, leading to further arrests, are to entail a more effective extermination of the sect, for the heretics in Chihli, Shantung and Honan are so numerous, and so very dangerous. Na Yen-ch'ing, the Viceroy of Chihli and, as such, the appointed heresy-hunter-in-chief for the protection of the dynasty residing within his territory, continued faithful to this part of his calling. A decree of the 23rd of the seventh month (22 Aug.), 1829, tells us of his operations in the district of Khing-yun 慶雲, situated in the south-east of his province, on the Shantung borders (map, p. 516), which occasioned the emperor to prescribe that strict examination and condemnation should take place, but great circumspection should be observed and no loyal people involved.

These incessant campaigns of the Government for the annihilation of Sectarianism in the north-eastern provinces, and the many others which we cannot mention because the *Shing hün* keeps absolutely silent about them, again afford undeniable proof that religious life flourished there everywhere, and, in spite of persecution, steadily grew. We cannot doubt that it was at the same time frequently persecuted also in other provinces. We read, for instance, that the crew of the tribute-rice fleet once more enjoyed the precarious honour of seeing the Imperial attention turn itself to their religious associations. We know (see page 293) that this had happened in 1768, their chapels in Hang-cheu had been pulled down, and many of them punished for heresy. The measures, according to some decrees, now proposed or taken against them, show that all this host of sailors, manning some thousands of ships, were united in close bonds of religious fraternity, thus forming a phalanx powerful enough to palliate the fanaticism of the Grand Persecutor, the victualing of whose Metropolis and Court actually depended upon their good-will, or, at any rate, could be greatly endangered by ill-will on their part. We therefore see this Persecutor shrink from taking such vigorous measures against them as he never hesitated to take against defenceless villagers and townspeople. No wonder that, according to many decrees in the *Shing hün*, they frequently indulged in other lawless acts besides religion, braving the authorities and

the people with impunity, and giving much trouble to both.

On the 4th of the second month of the year 1825 (22 March) there was some sharp fighting in Kia-hing 嘉興, in Chehkiang province, between older sailors and novices, on which occasion several were wounded and killed. This induced the emperor to instruct the Council of State, in a decree of the 23rd of the third month (9 May), to command the Viceroy of Kiangnan and the Governors of Kiangsu and Shantung to give all their attention to this affair and order the civil and military authorities along the waterways to capture the offenders. The day after, two more edicts appeared, announcing that the Censor Ts'ien I-kih 錢儀吉 had informed the Throne that these sailors were in the habit of committing similar irregularities all along the waterroads, and that the Prefects ought to prevent this, and should also take measures against their sects, with promise of pardon should they come to report themselves as apostates. Lately two more of these communities had been founded by them, called the Lao-ngan 老安 sect and the P'an-ngan 潘安 sect, the members of which recognized one another by a red mark on the face. They were reported to have attacked passenger-ships, cut off hands and feet, and drowned, wounded or killed people. Two of the miscreants who voluntarily had come to the mandarins and been detained by them, were rescued from prison by their comrades; etc., etc. Hwang Ming-kih 黃鳴傑, the Governor of Chehkiang, thus decrees the emperor, shall proceed to Kia-hing and take better measures in this concern than has been done heretofore; and he and other authorities shall be punished for neglect of duty if the memorial of the Censor should prove to be correct, for the Governor's report represented the state of matters quite differently.

On the 6th of the sixth month (21 July) a decree gives us some further light about these sects. The Censor Wang Shi-fuh 王世紱 had then reported that on every fleet there were three sects, viz. the two already named, and a Sin-ngan 新安 sect. The deity they worshipped was the Patriarch Lo. Each sect had a headman, called lao-kwan 老官 or "old governor", and every fleet a lao-kwan ship on which sacrifices were presented to the Patriarch and where all the novices came to do homage to the lao-kwan as their Teacher or Master (師). Every sailor paid his contribution. The number of members of the sects amounted to forty or fifty thousand, not counting the towing-men living along the waterways. Their organization occasionally caused friction with some elements among the people; sometimes even they came to blows,

on which occasions the leaders carried a red chopstick, and all the members immediately ranged themselves round them. The Sin-ngan sect was the most numerous of the three. These sects, thus the emperor decrees, form the acme of opposition against the Law; but he does not order a persecution, evidently fearing worse.

More boldness was displayed three years later by the Director-General of the Transport (漕運總督), Noh'rh-king-ngoh, who in fact, as Chief Judge in Shantung (page 493), had had plenty of training in heretic-hunting. A decree of the 24th day of the eleventh month (30 Dec. 1828) informs us that he suggested a system of measures to be adopted against the sects, such as that the lao-kwan of every fleet should be secretly arrested and sent back to his native place, to be there dealt with by the Prefect, and also that the four characters 水手老官, "lao-kwan of the sailors", should be branded in his face. The emperor does not consider this practicable, for fear of a rising among the sailors.

After that we read no more of persecuting-measures against them until 1835. In that year, according to a decree of the 11th of the seventh month (2 Sept.), a Censor presented to the Throne a complaint, founded — as memorials of Censors generally are — on vague rumours or street-gossip, in this case about pillage and homicide committed somewhere by the sailors, about mutilated bodies and limbs found floating on the water, etc., etc. The emperor therefore ordered the Governor-General of the Transport to have these people kept in strict restraint by his military forces. Perhaps this decree was connected with another of the 30th day of the eighth month (20 Oct.), directed against the Lao-ngan and P'an-ngan sects and their lao-kwan. We are told therein that the Censor Chen Khai-ki 周開麒 proposed to the Throne that against those sects severe measures should be taken, whereas the crimes in question were especially committed by sailors who by their membership of those associations felt themselves strong against the prosecutions of the authorities. And the authorities — the emperor complains — dare not tackle the sailors because of their solidarity and numbers. But the Governor-General of the Transport, and the Viceroy of Kiangnan with his provincial Governors shall notify their various Taotais for the Imperial Revenue from the Corn-tax (糧道) to take measures tending to the removal of all bad elements from the fleets, and to refuse admittance to any murderous characters; also to put a stop to their religious exercises and the collecting of moneys on behalf of the same, and to dissolve their societies.

The fault of these irregularities among the sailors — the emperor declares in a decree of the 22nd of the ninth month (11 Nov.) — irregularities which continue, notwithstanding Our repeated instructions to check them, lies in the existence of sects and sectarian leaders among them, and in their close communal life. And yet, although the Imperial intelligence has thus discovered the spot whereat to strike, no hunt is decreed: evidently, the Imperial hand is stayed by fear of riot and resistance. But about one year later, on the 22nd of the twelfth month (29 Jan. 1837), a change takes place. On that date, the emperor, by the advice of the Censor Chu Ch'ing-lieh 朱成烈, decrees that the Governor-General of the Transport, together with the Viceroys and Governors, all of one mind and soul shall clear out everywhere the nests and dens (巢穴) of these people, and that the Prefects in Chihli, Shantung, Kiangsu and Chehkiang shall promptly arrest all the heretics of the Lao-ngan and P'an-ngan sects. Many hundreds of them, this state-documents affirms, were caught in the course of the year by the military powers, but the police-forces along the waterways did not make enough arrests. Their Sutra-halls (經堂) must be tracked, as well as any other places where they meet, and all persons connected with these buildings shall be severely punished, as well as the negligent mandarins whom the Governor-General of the Transport and the high provincial authorities may find flagging in the execution of this Imperial command.

About the effects of this bold crusade we find a few statements in a decree of the 11th of the third month (15th April). Wu 'rh-kung-ngoh 烏爾恭額, Governor of Chehkiang, had then reported that, throughout his province, all the sailors were filled with fear and dismay; not one irregularity had since taken place on shore; all, to the very last, had lost the courage to keep a hall for the worship of the Old Patriarch (老堂), or a Sutra-hall. Unfortunately this grandee does not tell us a word about the measures which had produced this glorious result; had he really made a raid upon the sailors? or was his report mere boast and bombast? He shall zealously go on in this same line of conduct, the emperor decrees, in order that heresy and the spirit of opposition raise their head no more; and should this happen in spite of all, he shall be called to account.

The decrees of Suen Tsung, as far as they are published in the *Shing hien* collection, make mention of still other persecutions undertaken outside the three north-eastern provinces. Unfortunately,

as usual, they do not tell us nearly enough about them, sufficient however to justify the conclusion that they raged on a considerable scale. There appeared an edict on the 21st of the sixth month (Aug. 1), 1828, informing us that Yang Kwoh-ching 楊國楨, the Governor of Honan, was advised by Sū Hin 徐炘, the Governor of Shensi (¶), to intercept fugitive heretics fleeing from Si-ngan, the capital of this province, through Honan, northward. They were people from Hwa-yang 華陽, a district of Ch'ing-tu 成都, the capital of Szē-ch'wen, implicated in a persecution instituted in this province against a Blue Lotus sect (青蓮教). Of this religious community they were propagandists for a "Sutra of thirteen or fourteen Requisites" (十參四報經), composed by their master or teacher Yang Sheu-yih 楊守一, a man from the district of Sin-tu 新都, north of Ch'ing-tu (map, page 352). The emperor commands Yang Kwoh-ching to institute a rigorous persecution against adherents of those sectaries in his jurisdiction; doubtless many of them must be living there, and are certainly being incited by those fugitives to do all sorts of mischief. And Teng T'ing-ching, the Governor of Nganhwui (p. 499), shall also take strenuous measures against any misbehaviour of such people in the parts of his territory bordering on Honan, which are long since notorious as nests of heresy and sectarianism.

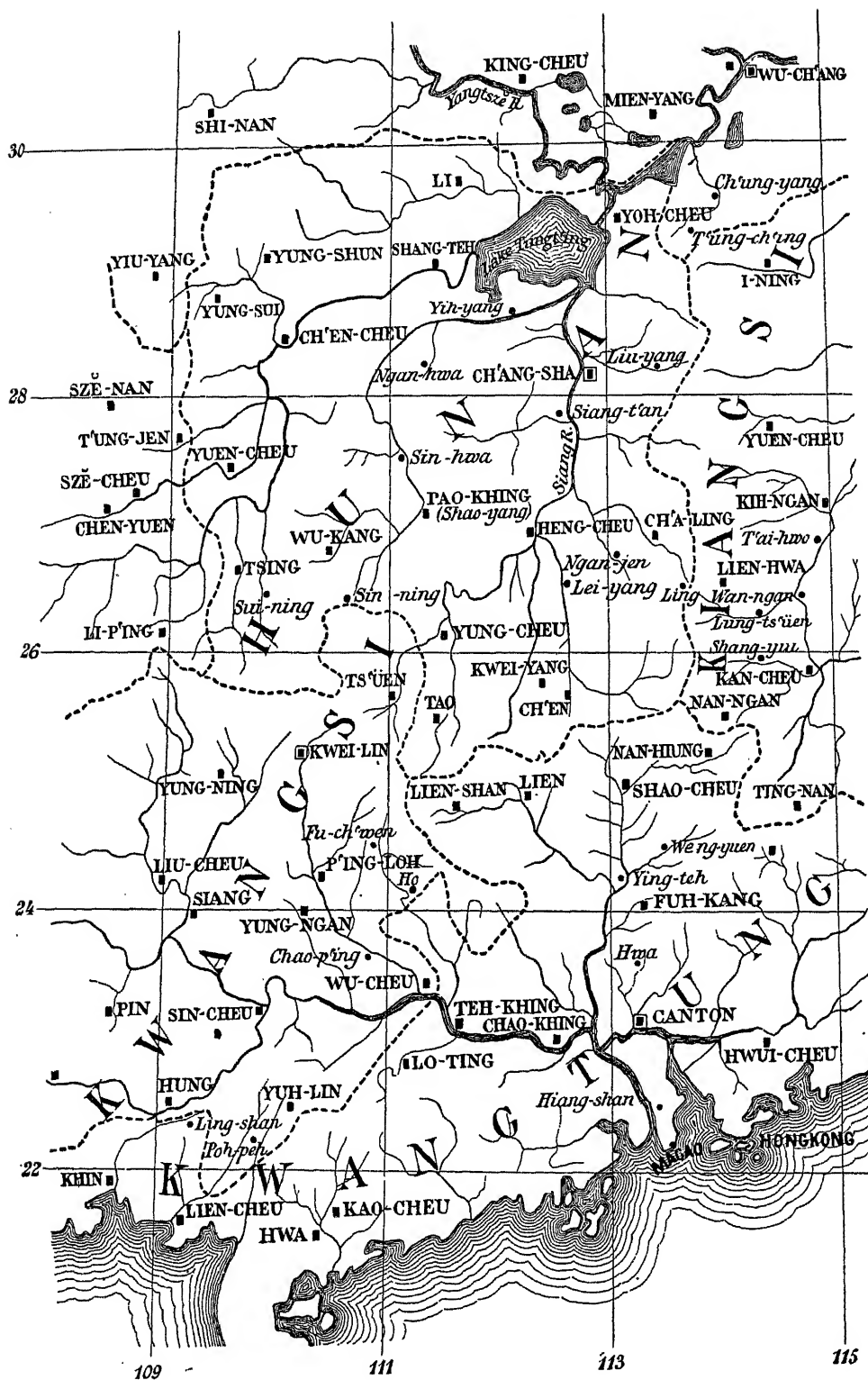
That Blue Lotus society therefore appears to have existed in several provinces. On the 26th day of the seventh month (5 Sept.) another decree came out on this same subject, suggested by certain intelligence received from Sū Hin. From sectaries arrested in Shensi the confession was extorted that one Yuen Wu-khi 袁無欺, also named Chi-khien 志謙, living in the district of Lung-li 龍里 in Kweichow, was their religious master or teacher, and that this man, on being informed that in the fifth month of the preceding year persecutions had broken out in Szē-ch'wen against the sect and Yang Sheu-yih had been arrested, was conveyed by his sectaries to Han-khow in Hupeh (opposite Wu-ch'ang and Han-yang, see map, p. 352), and hiding there under a false name as an oil-vendor. It had also transpired that Yang Sheu-yih had sent two groups of his men to Peking. The emperor commands that orders shall be sent out to all the provinces concerned and to the Government and the Gendarmerie of Peking, to pursue and catch these people and their adherents. Beyond this we learn nothing of this hunt.

And Tsiang Yiu-sien, the great exterminator of heretics in Chihli, having become Viceroy of Kiangnan, with great animation

continued the good Confucian work of persecution in his new territory. We read in a decree of the 18th of the second month (11 March), 1830, that the Censor Ch'ing Hwan-ts'ai 程煥采 sent in a memorial to the emperor, in which he drew attention to the fact that in the district of Shang-yiu 上猶, in Kiangsi, in the mountains along the Kwangtung frontiers (map, p. 506), there were two places, Ying-ts'ien 營前 and Shui-ngan 水安, in a steep, almost inaccessible region, where the inhabitants, ignorant and simple folk occupying themselves chiefly with charcoal-burning and iron-melting, had given hospitality to sectarian miscreants uniting them into heretical religious societies. Thus feeling themselves strong by a spirit of coercion, they molested travellers and neighbouring villages.....

Formerly — thus decrees the emperor — Tsiang Yiu-sien by Our command took severe measures in that province against the societies established in T'ai-hwo 泰和, Wan-ngan 萬安, and other districts north of Shang-yiu. And now Ch'ing Hwan-ts'ai apprises Us that the conditions prevailing there are not yet pure. The commissioner Wu Kwang-yueh 吳光悅 shall therefore make fresh investigations there, and undertake the purification, in order that "this disease be no longer furthered". About the treatment of these poor mountaineers the edicts are silent; perhaps, like so many scenes of bloodshed and cruelty for the sake of orthodoxy, it will remain unknown for ever.

Now again for a series of years the decrees on the subject of persecution, given in the *Shing hün*, bear in the main on the north-eastern provinces, even more in particular on Peking and its environs, and on the province of Chihli. On the 25th day of the twelfth month (Jan. 27), 1832, the Council of State was informed by the emperor that the Yamen of the Commandant-General of the Gendarmerie in Peking had acquainted the Throne with the fact that an itinerant physician, Fu T'ien-jan 傅添桷, living in that city, had reported the existence of sects there and in the surrounding country; of his informations the Government ought wisely to take advantage. This state-paper evidently gives only the outlines, but even these are not without interest, as they furnish some details about the names, the work and the spread of Sectarianism round the very focus of Imperial persecution (comp. map, p. 516). In the district of Ta-hing 大興, a subdivision of Peking, a society of about thirty members occupied themselves with Sutra-readings, and at the same time with manual exercises; a member of the Red Yang sect gave religious



instruction; a headman of the sect of the Origin of Chaos counted many pupils there. In the district of Lai-shui 涑水, in a temple consecrated to Yama, a Red Yang society was established, engaged in the recital of religious writings. In two small places in the district of Ngan-suh 安肅, the families named Wu and Kao devoted themselves to the reading of holy books, and had deposited with one of their community their Sutras and Buddha-images; that society bore the name of Sheu-yuen (see p. 285). In the village of Ho-ts'ao 河曹, situated in the district of Mih-yun 密雲, there existed a Red Yang society, in possession of religious books and objects concealed in the house of one of its members; while to the east of the city of that district, in the village of Ts'ien-li-yuen 前梨元, a Peh-lung hwui 白龍會 or White Dragon society was established, on behalf of which a person from Ch'ang-p'ing 昌平, called Chang the young Salvationist (張道童), occupied himself with proselytism. And finally in Ch'ang-p'ing existed a Silent Void (Nirvāṇa?) society (see page 483), where members of the clans of Liang, Sū and Hing used to meet for the reading of Sutras; etc., etc. Imperial orders were promptly issued to put the sectaries already under arrest into the hands of Fu Tsun 富俊, a member of the Council of State, who, in co-operation with the Board of Punishments, was to examine them. With regard to the other people whom the good doctor had betrayed, the Governor of Peking and the Viceroy of Chihli were ordered immediately to issue the necessary severe instructions for their arrest, but measures were to be taken with caution, to avoid seditious movements.

This is all we are told about this new chase. It is not unlikely that it gave the impulse to the great storm of persecution of which we have now to note some particulars, drawn from the edicts.

As stated in a decree of the 18th of the first month (19 Febr.), the Council of State informed the emperor concerning a certain Wang Lao-t'eu-tszē 王老頭子 or Wang Fah-chung 王法中, who had confessed to having been introduced into the White Yang sect by one Shen Lao-sū 申老敘, from the district of Sheh 涉 (map, p. 298) in the extreme north of Honan, and had applied himself to the reciting of the Sutra or Classic of the ten Characters (十字經). Another man, Yen Lao-teh 閻老得 by name, had also been brought before the tribunal, and confessed to have been condemned to deportation in 1822 on account of his membership of the Mahayana sect; on being set free from

his banishment and sent home, he had been in relation with fellow-sectaries in Kū-luh (comp. pages 409 and 454) for the collecting of moneys and the transport of letters to and from Peking. In this capacity he had attended the paying out of money to a certain Yin Lao-sū 尹老須 in the district of Ts'ing-ho 清河 (map, p. 516), east of Kū-luh. This man, who had white hairs on his ears, and on his arm a fleshy dragon, called himself Nan-yang Fuh 南陽佛, "the Buddha of the Southern Light", or "the Buddha of Nan-yang", a department in south-western Honan (map, p. 352); his dwelling was called the convent of the Flying Dragon (飛龍寺). In the previous year, the emperor decrees; seditious placards had been posted up in Honan and Shantung, pointing to riotous plots of a certain Yin Lao-sū and his son. Khi Shen, the Governor of Shantung, at that time made inquiry about these two persons, and found that they had become rich through the finding of a hidden treasure, but that there was no sign of Sectarianism in those parts. Now, once more, this matter must be inquired into, "in order that the waters may subside and the stones appear". The Governor, assisted by his Chief Judge Noh 'rh-king-ngoh, shall arrest, without any alarm, all the persons mentioned by the prisoners, about two dozen in number, among them being Yin Lao-sū and his son Ming-jen 明仁; this shall be done promptly, before they have time to escape, and all the books, scriptures and name-lists, found in their possession, shall be forwarded to Peking for examination. The dwelling-place of Shen Lao-sū, where the sect must naturally count many adherents, shall be taken in hand by the Governor of Honan, Yang Kwoh-ching, and the sect exterminated, root and stem.

In a decree of the 25th day of the third month (25th April) the emperor expresses his high satisfaction about the manner in which heresy-hunts have been carried on by T'ao Chu 陶澍, the Viceroy of Kiangnan, in various parts of his dominion. He is to proceed with energy in the same direction, in order that he may achieve the total annihilation of the sects, and the five chief miscreants he shall send up to his capital, in order that they may be rigorously examined and punished. The names and further particulars of the fugitives he must communicate to the Viceroy of Chihli and the Governor of Honan, who shall arrest and punish them. In this same decree the emperor refers to the affair of Wang Lao-t'eu-tszē, ordering that, in connection with the same, the Commandant-General of the Gendarmerie shall search the convent of the White Clouds (白雲菴) and that of the Clouds

of Mercy (慈雲菴), these being under suspicion because of certain confessions of one of the captives. Then a decree of the 20th of the following month (19 May) proclaims that Wang Lao-t'eu-tszē shall be strangled, in accordance with the Law, for his membership of the White Yang sect, for making proselytes, for collecting moneys, and for journeying to the capital to stir up the fire of error among the people. A bannerman of the first class, called T'ang Pah 唐八, over sixty years old, prevailed upon by him to accept the membership of their community, shall be banished as a slave to Turkestan, with exposition in the cangue for three months, and he shall never be pardoned; the descendants of this man shall also be ejected from the Banner-regiments.

Finally a decree of the 9th of the fifth month (7 June) gives us a cursory glance into a report issued by the Council of State and the Board of Punishments concerning Yin Lao-sū, who with several others had been placed in their hands. His real name was Yin Tszē-yuen 尹資源, and he was the leader of the sect of the Li diagram, so that here is another instance of the connection or similarity between the Diagrams' religion and that of the White Yang. This Nan-yang Buddha kept up a hierarchical line of succession; his tales — the emperor declares — decoyed many, and his adherents were found in no less than three provinces; therefore, whereas his mad opposition reached the climax (狂悖已極), he must suffer the penalty of slow death by the knives, and his head be exhibited for a general warning in the districts which were the scene of his iniquities. His son Ming-jen, for years a faithful adherent of the same sect, shall be beheaded, with two other accomplices. And the slothful mandarins who investigated the matter so defectively, shall be committed for judgment to the Board of Civil Office. Four days later, H. M. decided that another man under arrest, Siao Lao-yiu 蕭老尤 or Ki San-poh 姬三白 by name, a member of the Mahayana sect under Sun Wei-kien who had suffered the pain of death (see p. 409), was to be carved to death, and his head exhibited on a stake, for having induced a third individual, now at large, to make an official seal and to spread and post placards.

About further executions, banishments, etc. the decrees are silent. On the 19th of the fifth month an Imperial order appeared to put in execution a proposal of the high Censor Wang Wei-khing 王瑋慶, to the effect that the Throne would have stricter inquiry made into the origin of heresy and the manner in which Prefects deal with heretics, since the affair of Wang Lao-t'eu-tszē

and Yin Lao-sū had proved once again how heretics without fear of the Law go their own way, and the authorities perceive nothing of it. And eight days later another decree comes out, in consequence of a memorial of the Censors Yao Khing-yuen 姚慶元 and Sū P'ei-shen 徐培深. Founders of sects — this state-document sets forth — must be visited with the full rigour of the Law, neither may pardon be granted to their propagandists and followers who collect moneys and lead the masses into error. But the simple rustic population, who, for the sake of earning happiness, allow themselves to be misled — they deserve pity and shall at all times be permitted to cast off their heresies. If they do so, they shall be exempt from punishment, "to bear witness to Our love of mankind, which is above the Law" (以示法外之仁). This course was pursued at the time of the persecutions in the sixteenth year of the Kia khing period (1811), when in Chihli the Mahayana sect was persecuted; but in the rebellion of Lin Ts'ing, which took place two years later, the Prefects could discover nothing, and the matter ended in a general persecution on the largest scale, greatly to the harm of the country-people. In the present instance again, Yin Lao-sū and his followers were to be brought to judgment as chief culprits; the other culprits were to be punished according to the supplementary laws, and the Viceroys and Governors had to catch from among the thousands of beguiled people those whom they considered the worst, and to pass sentence upon them. But what did happen? The Prefects arrested at random, at hap-hazard, without discriminating the tares from the good crop; peaceful citizens were made to suffer, fermentation and agitation ensued, and were a fresh incentive for policemen and yamen-runners to commit all manner of injustice. The Viceroys and Governors are hereby warned to distinguish carefully between the highly guilty and the misguided; they shall take prompt action against the sects before these shall have time to spread and develop, but they shall instruct the Prefects to keep their policemen within bounds, and not to make heresy a pretence for dragging before the tribunals innocent and peaceful citizens; neither shall the police accept money from real heretics; for all such iniquitous transactions severe punishments shall be meted out. — Indeed, a remarkable picture of the true state of affairs, drawn by the Imperial pen! Who are they that turn peaceful religionists into rebels? Their leaders? Or their persecutors, with an unconscionable yamen-brood?

One more Imperial resolution was issued on account of this heresy-persecution, on the 7th of the sixth month (4 July). From all antiquity, such is the brief tenor of it, there was but one only, undivided religion, viz. the Confucian, the religion of the Classics, preaching the relations of subjects towards their sovereign, those of children towards their father; it is the religion of the li or established rules of social life. Sovereigns and Rulers propagated this sage religion by means of the caste of the shi and the jü (pp. 13—14); beside this religion there never was room for any other. But heretical (sié) doctrines gave birth to sects, to which at first only a few individuals of the tares of the populace adhered; the poison spread everywhere in all directions, and people were deceived by nonsense about happiness and misfortune. Such was the case with that Buddhist sect (佛門) or Flag-school (旗門) of Wang Lao-t'eu-tszě and Yin Lao-sü; people came by thousands to be incorporated; they contributed money, and — this evil spread over no less than three provinces. Had the Prefects only been on the alert and nipped in the bud such iniquities! But they did nothing of the sort; they sat still like wooden dolls for decades of years, until at last, alas, crowds of people seeking happiness found misfortune instead, and fell into the hands of justice. All this must be changed, as has been proved with strong argument by three Censors, and by the Governor of Shantung. The Viceroys shall effectively and thoroughly make the people understand by proclamations that they have to seek their happiness or misfortune in their agricultural occupations, and that the membership of sects only produces harm in various forms, as it empties their houses, depriving their villages of parents who give birth to children. So, for instance, the clan of Lin Ts'ing was totally exterminated, and the same penalty, the very heaviest that can be inflicted, fell also to the lot of Yin Lao-sü; their pupils too could lay no claim to a milder treatment. Let the Prefects therefore be zealous in tracing out and bringing to judgment all evil-doers, lest they themselves run the risk of being severely punished when their negligence is found out. The Viceroys also shall act energetically!

That there was no slackness displayed in this heresy-hunt, the violence of which may be taken as established by this decree, is further proved by two edicts issued in 1832 in the seventh month, treating of dismissal, degradation and punishment of a series of civil and military mandarins who had been found sluggish in discovering and persecuting. These documents contain no details of any interest to us.

In consequence of a proposal, addressed to the Throne by Teng Ting-ching, the Governor of Nganhwui, whom we know (pp. 499 and 504), a decree was issued by the emperor on the 10th of the sixth month (7 July), 1832, sanctioning that seven condemned heretics from that province, to whom on the ground of their good conduct release from their exile in the Mohammedan cities of Turkestan had been vouchsafed, should be searched for and re-tried. Indeed, of ten to whom this favour had been granted, only three had come home; the seven in question could not be found, having no doubt gone back to their old, wicked, heretical business. And so, they to whom the benevolent emperor extended his grace, were again driving others into the nets of the law, and plunging them into woe and misfortune; more provinces besides Nganhwui would have to smart under the consequences. Let all Viceroys make diligent search for those miscreants, and also for all other pardoned exiles who may have stopped somewhere on their way home. Their first sentence shall be renewed; they shall be sent back to the cities of the Moslems, and liberty shall never again be granted to them.

That Sectarianism flourished in Manchuria, we learned already on page 307 from measures taken there in 1775 for the extermination of communities of the One Incense-stick and the Sceptre, the Red Yang religion, and the Original Condition of Chaos. Now, in 1833, we are informed through an edict of the 20th day of the seventh month (Sept. 3rd), of the existence there of members of the first-named religion, using the formula of the Unbegotten dual Power of the immaterial Void. Knowing that this magic formula was especially in use among the sectaries of the Eight Diagrams (p. 420), we have here an indication for the similarity or identity of these two religions. We read in that decree of the prosecution of one Khan Hi-ling 闕希令, a propagandist for the sect of the One Incense-stick and the Sceptre, in whose house a book with charms and formulae had been found, several dozen paper sheets inscribed with exorcisms perfectly unclassical (puh king), and a printing-block for the characters 真空無生, the Unbegotten of the immaterial Void. This man confessed to be acknowledged as religious leader by numerous people in Chihli and Manchuria whose names he gave; thereupon many of these were captured, and by their confessions opened the way for fresh arrests. Of course the emperor orders a quick and total extermination of this sect, which dared to cure sick people by burning incense! Without any noise or alarm the Governor of

Shingking and the Viceroy of Chihli are to set to work and destroy it.

The next decree in the *Shing hün*, bearing on persecution, takes us to the Metropolis and to Honan. It was issued on the 12th of the twelfth month (22 Jan. 1834). The Commandant-General of the Gendarmerie had reported that a literary graduate (貢生) from Honan, called Li Shang-lin 李上林, together with a certain Wang T'ung-lin 王同林 had brought a charge of heresy against one Wang Yuen-heng 王元亨 and some others. This Wang T'ung-lin had in the previous year witnessed at the house of Wang Yuen-heng how the latter with his concubine and son prostrated themselves to the ground before four acquaintances, and how two of these read religious books before an assembled company. The son of the house had then explained this to be a T'ien-chuh kiao 天竹教 or "religion of Celestial Bamboo", declaring one of those four men, called Tai I 戴義, to be their Old Master or Teacher (老師父) and their general headman (總頭目), and the attendants, eighteen in number, his disciples. In the house were hidden twenty muskets and eight swords, and 339 pounds of gunpowder had been stored there in the past year. Wang Yuen-heng had then told a blacksmith to make a spear, and asked Wang T'ung-lin to take care of it, which induced the latter to betray the matter to the district-prefect. And what did this bad official do? He kept the honest plaintiff provisionally in custody, and having made a house-search, and learned that the spear merely served to guard the dwelling, he administered to him a castigation on the handpalms. After this, the plaintiff, through a young daughter of Sū Hing-fang 徐興芳, one of the four men mentioned, managed to get hold of two writings. These he showed to the scholar Li Shang-lin, who said that they breathed rebellion and the matter ought to be reported. Both men then travelled to Peking, to lodge an accusation with the Gendarmerie:

Now the suspicious emperor, as credulous as a child, declares that even if really the spear were only used to protect the house, the 339 pounds of gunpowder remain unexplained. And since the writings in question breathe rebellion, it is fairly certain that the heretical meeting must have taken place with wicked intentions. A thorough investigation is therefore imperative. Yang Kwoh-ching, the Governor of Honan (p. 504), shall send King Ngoh-pu 經額布, his Chief Judge, to the district in question, T'ang 唐 (map, p. 352), to make arrests with the greatest severity, without letting one being slip through the net; this

officer shall make the waters subside and let the stones become visible, and exterminate that heresy, root and stem.

Blessed country, where any scoundrel wishing evil to his neighbours has the power to plunge them with their families and fellow-villagers into the most terrible woe and distress by touching with some lie or ludicrous story the tenderest chord in the Government's quaking conscience: its never-sleeping dread of anything of the nature of an association, even of a few religionists coming together in pious meeting. And great indeed the Chinese emperor here shows himself! To him the slightest hint is highly important, if it may lead to a bloody persecution of his heretical subjects; to his exalted mind nothing is a trifle.

Khi Shen, the great heresy-hunting satrap of Chihli, meanwhile persevered with unflagging zeal in the fulfilment of his meritorious task. In proof of his energetic measures he acquainted the Throne on the 13th of this same twelfth month with the discovery and arrest of several heretical oppositionists within his province. Persist in your search, bring them to justice — thus decrees the emperor — show your devotion and zeal, and your iron grip!

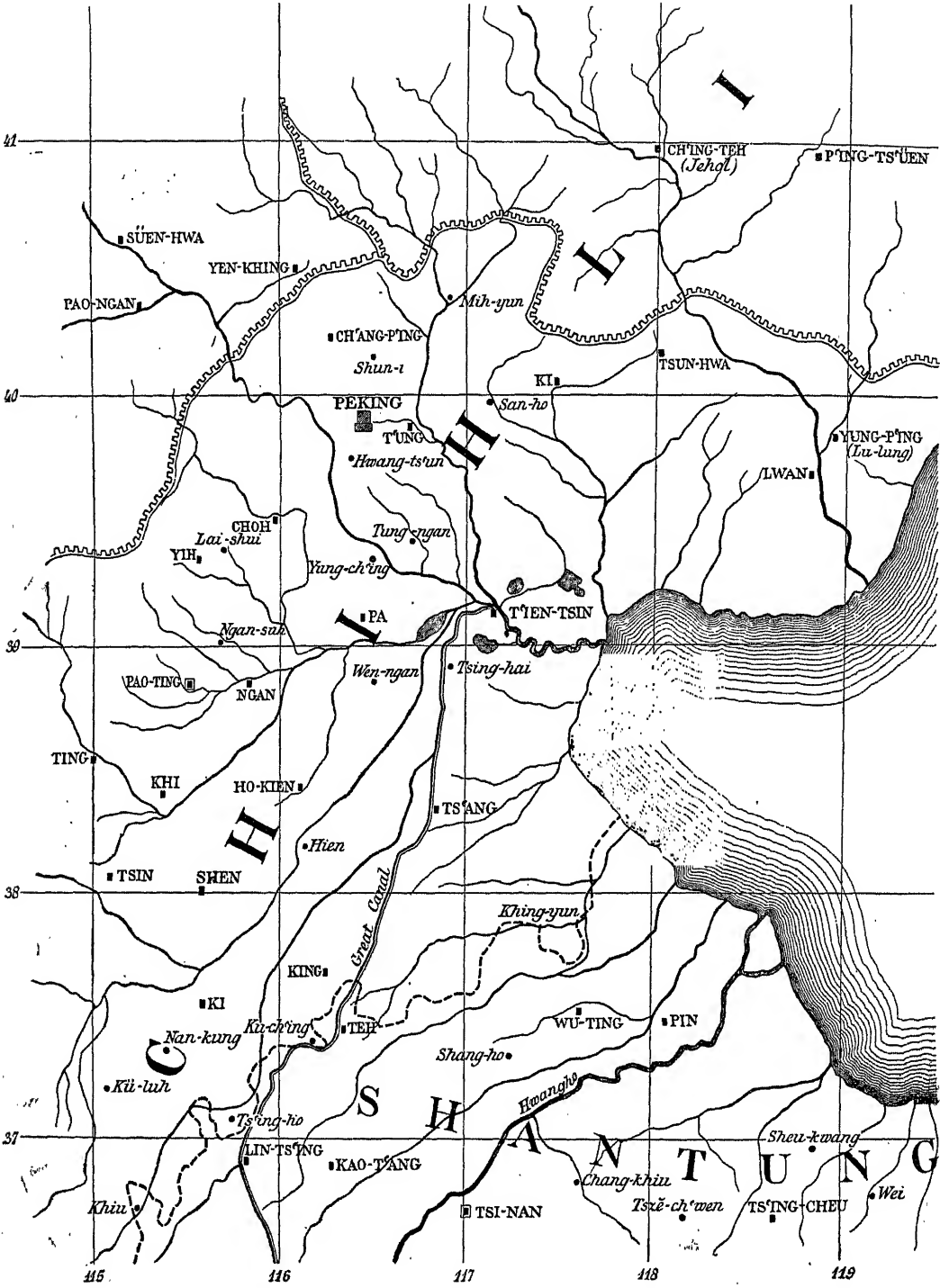
In that epoch of terrorism during which we find the mandarin always watching for opportunities to pounce upon religionists, we see them mete out their punishments also to pilgrims coming to Peking to worship divinities. And, following the precedent of his grandfather and his father, which we mentioned on page 383, Süen Tsung in 1834, on the 22nd day of the second month (March 31), issued a decree, inserted in chapter 78 of the *Shing hün*, severely forbidding people to leave their homes for such blameworthy religious work. It was, thus we read in that state-paper, the Censor Liu I 劉誼 who directed the attention of the emperor to the evil. Some people arrested by the Gendarmerie for looking somewhat suspicious, were delivered up to the Board of Punishment for trial, and here "the discovery was "made that they were people from Chihli, Honan and Shantung "travelling to the Metropolis to sacrifice incense. Such ignorants "do not even understand the natural law that felicity is given to "the virtuous, and misfortune to the wicked, but they think by "worshipping gods and bringing them incense to obtain their "blessing and protection. Therefore it cannot be guaranteed that "there are not refractory people with them, from the midst of "whom the fire of error is fanned, nor that no headmen of associations avail themselves of such opportunities to collect contributions and to form meetings, which things never fail to grow

"out to all sides into plots to throw up difficulties in the way of the Government. Verily, such things must be prevented by all means. On this ground the men that have been successively arrested and prosecuted, can hardly be dismissed without being interrogated; but, we think, forbidding evil beforehand is preferable to punishing afterwards. Let therefore the Viceroys and Governors of Chihli, Shantung and Honan order their Prefects to issue proclamations, by which, seriously and emphatically, their people are informed that, if everybody diligently applies himself to his trade or profession, blessings may be obtained, and that it is absolutely forbidden to form groups to go across the borders, visit Peking and burn incense. Should they again follow the old way, their leaders shall be rigorously seized, examined, and prosecuted" ¹.

The year 1835 also brought some remarkable decrees about persecutions. There is one of the 20th of the third month (16 April), which tells us of a campaign on a large scale, undertaken by Khi Shen in the department of T'ung 通, and in the districts of Mih-yun 密雲, Shun-i 順義 and San-ho 三河, to the east and north-east of Peking (map, p. 516), where one Kiai Khien 解謙 and two now deceased persons, Chang Meu-lin 張茂林 and Meng Ch'ang-ch'un 孟長春, had for many decades of years been guilty of making propagation of their errors among the people. The authorities had now shown so much zeal, that Khi Shen ventures to invoke the emperor's clemency for the mandarins who were in charge of those districts without discovering the evil, and proposes that they shall not be prosecuted or punished for neglect of duty.

In some of the decrees of that same year we come for the first time upon the name Sien-t'ien sect, which fact gives us a certainty that this religion, to which we devoted our Chapter VI,

¹ 經刑部訊係真隸河南山東進京燒香之人。此等無知愚民不明福善禍淫之理、以爲敬神進香可邀福庇。卽難保無奸宄之徒從中煽惑、爲會首者籍此斂錢聚衆、必至滋蔓難圖。實不可不防。其漸業經獲案自難置而不問、朕思懲之於後不若禁之於先。著直隸山東河南各督撫轉飭地方官出示、剴切曉諭該民人等各安本業卽可受福、斷不許結隊成羣越境來京燒香。如仍蹈前轍卽將爲首之人嚴拏究辦。



bore this name at least seventy years ago. The events to which its existence gave rise in that year, we learn somewhat from four decrees, issued in the fourth, the fifth and the sixth month, and may be arranged into the following short account. According to a report which Nghoh Shun-ngan 鄂順安, the Governor of Shansi, presented to his Imperial Lord, a certain Ts'ao Shun 曹順 in the district of Chao-ch'ing 趙城 had made propagation for his sect and collected contributions; but, as usually, it came out that he was plotting rebellion, making his adherents believe that by adopting his religion they would make themselves invulnerable against fire and steel. For this reason the district-prefect Yang T'ing-liang 楊廷亮 wanted to arrest him. But two policemen were members of the sect. They promptly sent him a written warning, and in the night of the 4th of the third month (1 April) Ts'ao Shun ordered his accomplice Han Khi 韓奇 with his crew to surprise the city. They liberated the prisoners and burned the Yamen under direction of the two policemen, carrying with them the seals of the prefecture. Simultaneously with this, at a short distance from the city, one Yang Ch'ao-fah 楊潮法 surprised a post-station, and distributed the horses among the rebels. But an armed force dispersed them, and they fled to the district of Kwan-ch'ing 觀城, in Shantung, on the borders of the southern outlying department of Chihli (map, p. 298). Here the Governor Chung Siang 鍾祥, supported by the Chihli police, captured them all, including Ts'ao Shun, and sent them up to Shansi.

This then again is a case of mutiny or revolt provoked by persecution. A number of sectarian chiefs were captured in all directions, and confessions tortured from them. By this means the Governor of Shansi found out that the heresy of Ts'ao Shun and his followers emanated from one Fu Pang-ning 傅邦凝, in the Chihli district of Kū-luh, which is known to the reader from former persecutions (pp. 409 and 454); and this Fu Pang-ning was the son of Fu Tsi 傅濟, who had already made proselytes in Chao-ch'ing under the reign of the previous emperor, and paid for it with his life at the hands of the mandarinates. Of course the Governor took care to have Fu Pang-ning and his relations arrested and examined by his colleague Khi Shen.

The emperor with special emphasis now insisted upon severe measures in south Chihli, expressing his great satisfaction that in this old hotbed of heresies and heretical disturbances now again a good many threads by which the perpetual evil could be traced, had fallen into the hands of the authorities. In that

province, Khi Shen was again to strain all his energies in the extermination-process. Since the beginning of the year not a drop of rain had fallen there, and all the people were in a state of agitation, anguish, and dismay, thus prepared at any moment to be stirred up by evil-brewers. The Viceroy had therefore issued severe instructions to his civil and military officers to prosecute more rigorously than ever the money-collectors and heretics, and drag them before their tribunals. A most excellent measure! the emperor exclaims; such things must be suffocated in their birth with all possible severity; let all take warning from Yin Lao-sü! In all garrisons the fighting-material shall immediately be put into repair; throughout the province armed patrols must constantly be sent out; a sufficient force shall be kept in readiness everywhere, and the swords ready sharpened!

This is the way in which the Government of China combats the demon of famine: hordes of soldiery and heresy-hunters are let loose among the very people which that demon threatens with destruction. Once again Khi Shen could acquit himself of his sublime duty, and doubtless the noble Confucian did his work as well as ever. But we read not one word about the effect of his dragonnades. Only some details are given us about the heresy-hunt in Shansi. One of the treacherous policemen, says a decree of the 5th of the fifth month (31 May), was killed, the other with the horse-stealer and eighty others were one after the other slashed or beheaded, and their heads exhibited, which carnage, as the emperor writes, "greatly relieved the human hearts". No mention is made of relatives, exterminated, as the law prescribes, along with the culprits. Some twenty or more persons, arrested subsequently, and all those who might still fall into the hands of the authorities, shall, thus the emperor orders, be treated with the utmost severity, and a vigorous search shall be made for all further delinquents, in order that not one may slip through the net; etc., etc. In P'ing-ting 平定, another district of Shansi, bordering on Chihli, a certain Yang T'an 楊潭 had been arrested, who frequently was in contact with Ts'ao Shun; and from him the names of several other persons had been extorted. These also shall be diligently searched for and examined, in order that ever more heretic rebels may be discovered and exterminated. So far for the high Imperial commands to Shansi's zealous Governor.

It goes without saying that the emperor also ordered severe persecutions in Shantung, whither the Shansi rebels had fled because they expected or hoped to find partisans there. Some of

the captives had told of a certain Li Fuh-lin 李幅林, residing there, who passed for an incarnation of Maitreya. The Governor was instructed by the emperor to search everywhere for this messiah. But we do not read that he was found.

Finally the Governor of Shansi was instructed by Imperial decree of the 11th of the sixth month (5 July) to force the final confessions from his over-tortured prisoners. Some one had informed the Throne that, after the attack on Chao-ch'ing, secret notes had been sent to the Prefect of P'ing-ting, in which his attention was directed to Yang T'an; but he had taken no notice of the hint, and had gone so far as to instruct his police to purloin the heretical writings which had been confiscated. All this intelligence — the emperor decrees — shall be communicated to the Governor of the province, with instructions to have the conduct of that Prefect thoroughly examined. The Governor shall also institute a further search for accomplices still at large; he shall squeeze from his prisoners more names and indications, also from Ts'ao Shun; this man, who gave himself out for an incarnation of the Buddha Çakya, he shall examine in person, in order that not one single culprit may escape and start fresh mutiny or revolt.

By the advice of the Censor Han Yung-kwang 韓榮光, the emperor issued on the 11th day of the ninth month (31 Oct.) of the year 1835 a decree against heresy in general. It shall specially be borne in mind by the authorities — this state paper declares — that they must destroy the sects, with the leaders and members, when they are just in their birth, for otherwise they spread rapidly like a cancerous disease, and are then indestructible. In every ward periodical searches shall be made after sects, and the founders and followers shall be arrested and severely punished. And any officials who neglect this their duty, shall be punished; etc., etc. Worthy of notice is also a decree of the 20th of the following month (8 Dec.), issued at the suggestion of the Censor Yih King-ts'ing 易鏡清. It tells us that amongst the soldiers, penmen in state service, and lictors a large number of sectaries were to be found, or at any rate persons allied with sectaries, keeping them constantly informed of any measures hatched against them. They screen them in every possible way — thus the decree further states — so that the Prefects are greatly hampered in the making of their investigations. Viceroys and Governors, such is the Imperial order, as well as all high Military Commanders, command your functionaries to make a rigorous search among the soldiers, penmen and lictors for any such sectaries, and let

them be punished severely; but grant them free pardon if they betray their co-religionists.

And on the 16th of the sixth month (29 July) of the year 1836 the following decree was issued by the emperor to the Council of State: "An address has been presented to Us, stating that in "the province of Shansi, in the circuit including the districts of "Yang-khüh and Yü, the department of Tai, the districts of Kwoh "and Wu-t'ai, the department of Hin, and the district of Ting-siang, "all close to Chihli, propagandists of heretical sects are found, who "are called by the people "of the salvation with five forbidden "kinds of food", on the ground that they burn incense and recite "sutras without abstaining from forbidden food and spirituous "liquors. They are really the White Lotus religion under another "name. When the fire of error has been fanned among such "ignorant people, they acknowledge masters and keep pupils, "congregate by night and disperse by day, bear false names "and titles, and secretly distribute dignities among themselves. "The petitioner therefore proposes that secret orders shall be "issued to search for such people and prosecute them, so that "this source of misfortune be stopped and cut off; etc.

"The heretic religions in Shansi have only recently been formed "by contamination brought over from Chihli. Therefore the prose- "cutions of sects, now going on in the latter province, and the house- "searches and inquiries performed in all directions, will not pre- "vent seditious people from fleeing without leaving a trace, and "hiding in Shansi. The Governor of this province shall therefore "in all secrecy order the Prefects of his departments and districts "that, without any rumour of it being spread abroad, they shall "prudently make investigations and, as soon as a clue has been "discovered, perform severe arrests and prosecution, to inflict "punishments such as the laws demand. But they shall not with "lightness trust people who, brooding hatred or revenge, try to "implicate innocent people, as this may lead to riots"¹. Negli-

¹ 有人奏山西省陽曲孟縣代州崞縣五臺忻州定襄一帶與直隸相近、有傳習邪教者、土人因其燒香念經、不戒葷酒、稱爲五葷道。實卽白蓮教之別名。此等愚民受人煽惑、拜師傳徒、夜聚曉散、假名僞號、暗相封授。請密飭查辦杜絕禍源等語。

晉省邪教向由直隸傳染。現在直隸辦理教案

gence in this respect shall be visited upon the Prefects with severe punishments, thus concludes the decree.

The persecutions in Chihli, referred to in this state-paper, we cursorily hear of in a decree of the 5th of the seventh month (16 Aug.). Khi Shen had reported the capture of three men of the Chao 趙 tribe, natives of Kū-yé 鉅野 (map, p. 298), a district in the south-western corner of Shantung, adjacent to his territory and known to the reader as the hotbed of heresy. These men, with several others, had formed a religious community. The emperor prescribes a strict examination of these persons; but how the persecution was further carried on is not brought to our knowledge.

Thus far we have seen the numerous attempts, made during Suen Tsung's reign to destroy religious Sectarianism, concentrated especially upon Peking and the provinces nearest to this city, a fact to be ascribed to the events of 1813, which, having almost proved fatal to the existence of the dynasty, naturally convinced the emperor of the necessity of ultra-rigorous measures that might lead to the annihilation of the dangerous sects. The wonder was that, under the pressure of that constant heresy-hunting, no other and greater rebellion broke out to shake the persecutor's throne, or to subvert it entirely. But who can doubt that showery clouds, from which in the end a thunderstorm would break, were gathering on all sides? History was going to repeat itself: — during Kao Tsung's reign persecution had produced the great rebellion in the western provinces; under his grandson persecution would result in an insurrection extending over a much larger area, and perhaps more sanguinary than any which had ever before swept over China.

Great events cast their shadows before. The first symptoms of that world-famous T'ai-p'ing 太平 rebellion we clearly discern as early as 1836, when a rising provoked by persecution took place in south-western Hunan. Noh 'rh-king-ngoh, known to us as the provincial Chief Judge of Khi Shen and his right-hand in matters of persecution (pp. 493 and 508), had been called to the

各處搜查、難保該匪徒等不聞風遁逃、潛匿晉省。著該撫密飭各州縣、勿露風聲、細心查訪、一經得有端倪即行嚴拏到案、按律懲辦。惟不得誤信仇陷株連無辜、致滋擾累。

high dignity of Viceroy of Hukwang, the gigantic dominion embracing the two provinces of Hunan and Hupeh. We cannot presume this thoroughly hardened heresy-hunter to have relinquished his task as a persecutor now that he was entrusted with the highest power over a territory so prolific in heretics, where the great Western Rebellion had broken out and had chiefly raged. The history of his exploits in this direction must, for lack of data, be left unwritten here; but we can state with certainty that in 1836 the people in the south-west of Hunan rose in open rebellion against persecution.

The principal scene of action was the chief city of the department of Wu-kang 武岡 (map, p. 506). Two or three thousand armed people, a decree of the 29th of the second month tells us, attacked it from three sides on the 6th day of that month (22 March), but they were repulsed and afterwards severely beaten by the military forces, which killed or captured several dozens. Not until eleven heads were exposed upon the walls did the rebels retire. As chief of the rising the prisoners mentioned Lan Ching-tsun 藍正樽 or Lan Yuen-khwang 藍沅曠, a member of a tribe of Yao aborigines in the district of Sin-ning 新寧, south-east of Wu-kang. Nine of his nearest relatives were arrested, and a heresy-hunt was held in Tsing 靖, the western adjacent department, and in the district of Sui-ning 綏寧.

"These rebels", the emperor writes, "rose when they had heard of arrests on account of their religious practices and their pro-selytism" (該匪等習教傳徒聞拏起事). The Governor of Hunan, Wu Yung-kwang 吳榮光, together with Noh 'rh-king-ngoh and other high authorities, shall take the necessary military measures and especially institute a vigorous search for Lan Ching-tsun and his crew; and all the arrested heretics and Yao people shall be severely sentenced, in order that all the mischief be done away with, as it ought to be. His Majesty also found reason in these occurrences to decree on the 23rd — probably the same day on which the news of what had taken place reached him — the prompt taking of military measures, to prevent the insurrection from spreading over the adjacent provinces of Kwangsi and Kweichu. In this same decree, and also in one of the 15th of the third month (30 April), we find it confirmed that the rebellion was connected with persecutions which had been going on for some time. In the eleventh month of the previous year, these two state-documents say, a heresy-hunt took place in Wu-kang; a literary graduate of the lowest rank, P'an Ming-teh

潘明德 by name, fell into the hands of the magistrate with some eighteen of his followers, and religious writings with an illustrated dissertation on the Khan 坎 diagram were seized. In the trial of these sectaries it came out that a certain Ch'ing Khung-ku 程孔固 had been converted by one Wang Yiu-ming 王又名, residing in Szē-ch'wen, and had received from him some religious writings and drawings; he in his turn had induced Li Ming-teh 李明德, now also under arrest, to become a member of the sect, and had then travelled to Kwangsi. The emperor decrees that immediate orders shall be sent to the authorities in those provinces to have these men searched for and delivered up to Noh 'rh-king-ngoh, then present in person on the scene of the rebellion.

The nineteen prisoners, so we learn from the same decree of the 15th of the third month, were sent up to the provincial capital, to be tried by the Viceroy. Meanwhile it transpired that Lan Ching-tsun had provoked the rebellion because of a sentence pronounced against him by the Prefect; the conduct of this official shall — thus the emperor prescribes — be investigated by the Viceroy in person. Over a thousand guilty persons, we learn from a decree of the 25th of the fourth month (8 June), were already in the grip of the law, thanks to the diligent chase made by civil and military authorities; but Lan Ching-tsun was still at large. He shall be searched for energetically in Hukwang and all the surrounding provinces, thus runs the Imperial order, so that his execution may bring relief to mankind. But we find no mention of his having been caught and slashed. From a decree of the 12th of the seventh month we learn that Ch'ing Khung-ku was arrested and sent to Hukwang. And another of the 27th of the sixth month of the following year (29 Juli 1837) announced that the Viceroy of Hukwang ventured to conclude from the confessions extracted, that Lan Ching-tsun was killed in a skirmish. But the emperor would not so readily believe this, and ordered the search for him to be continued with energy.

Chu Ch'ing-lieh, the Censor who, as we saw on page 503, gave expression to his zeal against heresy by asking for measures against the crew of the tribute-rice fleet, played an important part in a heresy-hunt which raged in 1837 in south-western Shantung. "There are", he wrote to the emperor, as stated in a decree of the 26th of the first month (1 March), "everywhere in Ts'ao-

"cheu, Teh and Tung-ch'ang (map, p. 298) sectarian ruffians who "recite sacred books, transmit their doctrines to disciples, and "clandestinely appoint title-bearers. Each headman is the holder "of a religious banner, and sometimes has authority over a hundred "men, sometimes even over several hundred; and once being such "a flag-bearer, he always gets plenty of food and clothing for his "family, even if this counts several members. Hence literary graduates of low degree who have no means of living, become flag-bearers, as was the case in the lawsuit against Ma Kang in the "district of Wei; the end will be that the authorities are assailed "and the prisons stormed, all because the Prefects in ordinary "times of peace do not stir, nor the heads of wards purify the "villages"¹. The Governor of Shantung, thus decrees the emperor, shall institute strict inquiries in those districts after such banner-holders and their crew; he shall prosecute and exterminate their sects; etc.

Who was this Ma Kang 馬剛? An edict of the 4th of the following month (9 March) tells us. In the said district of Wei (map, page 516), situated more eastward in Shantung, in the department of Lai-cheu 萊州, he had attacked government buildings, broken open jails, and delivered the prisoners (heretics?); and this mutiny had cost many lives. He had then fallen into the hands of the authorities, was carved to death, and his head exhibited; 152 of his fellow sectaries were captured, both men and women, and severely examined. Of course the emperor declares that the whole brood shall be destroyed from the face of the earth, and all persons mentioned by the prisoners in their examinations shall be hunted out everywhere throughout the province: "to carry out the laws of the dynasty, to gladden the hearts of men!" (以正國法、以快人心). Not one shall slip through the meshes of the net!

This event again indicates a state of tension provoked by endless persecution, occasionally causing an outburst smothered by new persecution and more bloodshed. That condition, precarious to the throne, was referred to in that same month by the Censor

¹ 山東曹州德州東昌等處俱有教匪誦經傳徒、私立名號。各頭目分掌教旗、或管百人、或數百人、一經掌旗、數口之家可得飽煖。因有無賴生監爲之掌旗者、卽如濰縣馬剛一案、竟至戕官刼獄、總因地方官平日不行、保甲不練民壯。

Li P'an-liu 黎攀鏐 in a memorial which he presented to the emperor to open his eyes to the fact that, for some years, the provinces had been full of murderous insurgents and miscreants taking shelter among the sects. It is, as he states, imperatively necessary to persecute the sects everywhere, in order to prevent a worse evil. By a decree of the 9th of the second month (March 14), from which we learn these particulars, the emperor ordains that this shall be done; he had no other method of quenching the smouldering fire than by pouring oil upon it. The seed of rebellion, sown by the Government itself, was quickly ripening. One immediate result of this Imperial order to resort to new persecution we hear of by a decree of the 18th of the twelfth month (14 Jan.), 1838. Intelligence had been received from Shingking that ten heretics of the Red Yang sect had been arrested there and waited execution. The emperor declares that the Governor of that province, Pao Hing 寶興, deserves all praise for having hunted up in the country of the Imperial ancestry, where morals and customs are so pure and so good, those people who recited religious books for healing the sick, had leaders and chiefs, and made proselytes. This heresy, which has prevailed there for so many years, shall now be searched out and punished, and the same measures shall be taken with regard to all societies whatever.

The purification-process was extended to the Imperial family, in which, as we know, missionaries had succeeded in sowing some seeds of Christianity. We find, indeed, the following decree of the 6th of the third month (31 March), 1838, addressed to the Bureau for the Administration of the Imperial Clan (宗人府): "At a prosecution of sectarians, T'u-szě, also named T'u-shing-o, "repented himself, and thereupon was exempted from punishment. But afterwards he again worshipped the cross and images "painted or carved, and together with his son Wen-kwang held "religious exercises and recited books. This surely is a case of "stubborn opposition to the utmost. Both therefore shall be "divested of their personal dignity of Red Girdle nobleman; their "names shall be erased from the Imperial family-register, and they "themselves sent immediately to Ili, there to be used for hard "labour. And henceforth, when (in the Imperial family) heretics are "arrested who formerly apostatized and were exempt from punishment, but then again became involved in this religion, it shall "not be taken into account whether they consent or not consent "in the tribunal to tread on the wooden cross, but, in accordance "with the existing laws, they shall be punished without remission

“or grace, in order that they may become warning examples “against rebellion and obduracy in evil”¹.

This then is a case analogous to the one of the two Christian princes banished in 1805 (p. 395). The ejection of princes, not only from the Imperial clan, but from the empire itself, shows the implacable exasperation of the Government against religious heresy. This exasperation induced the Colossus sometimes to brandish a sword of destruction against a gnat. An instance of this we learn from a decree of the 23rd of the intercalary month following on the fourth month of the year 1838 (15 June), addressed to the Council of State. “The Censor Pu Tsi-t’ung”, we read there, “reports to Us that in Shantung, south-east of the chief city of “the district of Chang-khiu (map, p. 298), there is a Ch’a-ya “mountain where every year on the 15th of the ninth month “sectaries meet. Having first preached about religious writings, “they let men and women quickly move round an altar, “which they call “to run round the altar”; and when it is “dark, they all pass the night in the great temple-hall, lying “about pell-mell, and at daybreak they disperse. Also in the “district of Tszë-ch’wen (map, page 298), west of the chief “city, in the Poh-yun or White Cloud mountain, they meet “every year on the 3rd day of the third month, on the 6th “of the sixth, and on the 9th of the ninth, and behave them- “selves on those occasions very much in the same way as “in the Ch’a-ya mountains. Clubs emanating from these two “places, exist at many hundred miles distance; indeed, those who “on the dates mentioned visited the meetings and then returned “home, have collected disciples round them and proclaimed “themselves their headmen”². Unless — the emperor declares —

1 圖四卽圖升阿於習教犯案改悔免罪。後復供奉十字架圖象、同伊子文廣習教念經。實屬怙終不悛。圖四卽圖升阿文廣均著革去本身紅帶子、並於玉牒末除名、著卽發往伊犁充當苦差。嗣後拏獲習教各犯、訊係改悔免罪後仍復奉教者、無論當堂情願跨越十字木架與否、均著照本例治罪、不准援免、以爲奸狡怙惡者戒。

2 御史步際桐奏、山東章邱縣城東南杈枒山內每於九月十五日會集教徒。初則講經、繼令男女繞壇而走、名曰走壇、晚則同宿大殿中、互相枕

this heresy and its propagation, so dangerous to the manners and customs and to the human mind, be exterminated without delay, troubles and disturbances will proceed from it. The Governor King Ngoh-pu (see p. 513), shall order his Prefects in those districts to send spies to those meetings and to arrest the guilty by surprise, also to confiscate their books, registers, etc.; but they shall see to it that their intentions be not betrayed, and no one be warned to be on his guard. And their next work, of course, shall be severe judgment and extermination.

From what we have said on page 21, the reader is aware that this huge mountain of imminent danger brought forth a ridiculous mouse: an insignificant little temple, dedicated to some sacred stone or other, and a few straw huts were swept off the face of the earth, by supreme authority. It is curious to note again how the Censors, those dreaded grandees whom we see displaying so much fire and zeal in heretic persecutions, derive the material for their memorials to the Throne from wild stories and mere gossip of the streets. We also note anew how every tale which refers to heretics and heresies, is at once believed by the Throne and puffed up beyond its dimensions, and how any trivial cause may lead to atrocious measures on the part of a mandarin state always acting on the assumption that behind the smallest offence worse evil lurks, which can only be brought to light by means of torture and the scourge. We are not expressly told that this usual method was followed in the case now under consideration, but who can doubt it?

Another remarkable instance of such official credulous suspicion entailing orders from the Throne to wield the sword of extermination, we learn by the following decree of the 11th of the fourth month (22 May), 1839: — "Some one has reported to Us "that in Shantung, in the district of Kao-mih (near Kiao-cheu), "seditious people dwell, who have founded a sect, called the "Kwun-tan society (lit. of "boiling-papers", letters for exciting "the people?) Men and women receive permission to become "members of this society if they practise its religion in couples. They "hold nocturnal meetings, at which a large number congregate in

藉、達曉始散。又淄川縣城西白雲山內每於三月初三日、六月初六日、九月初九日會衆。其法與杈枒山畧同。二處餘黨蔓延有數百里外、按期投赴者歸則各於本地招集徒衆、自爲頭目。

"one room without lamp-light, so that they may have sexual intercourse in the dark. They who contribute some measures of rice and some strings of coins, are endowed with a rank.

"Those seditious people — the emperor solemnly decrees — "found religious societies with lascivious intercourse of the two sexes, and are therefore extremely detrimental to the manners and customs and to the human mind. But there is more: as they distribute dignities among themselves, they belong to the great offenders against the laws; and if they are not searched for and arrested as soon as possible, they certainly will cause disturbance and create troubles. King Ngoh-pu shall send strict instructions to the Prefect in the district concerned to make secret investigations. If it be then proved that religious meetings of that nature do take place there, he must immediately proceed to severe arrest and prosecution, and do his best to gather in the seditious people, in order to make everybody cultivate submission and purity. If this matter should lead to difficulties in the future, the Governor shall be called to account. He shall therefore have respect to this rescript" ¹.

A case of iconoclasm and temple-destruction of importance and of a bloody nature is reported in a decree of the 8th day of the tenth month (23 Nov.) of the year 1838. His Majesty therein acknowledges receipt of a memorial from Hwang Tsioh-tszë 黃爵滋, Director of the Court of State-Ceremonial (鴻臚寺卿), in which his attention is directed to the fact that in the district of Kih 汲, forming the chief city of the department of Wei-hwui, in Honan, there exists a grave-temple with an inscription on stone, relating to a former sectarian prophet.

¹ 有人奏山東高密縣有奸民創立教名、名曰滾單會。習其教者男女二人方許入會。夜間聚集、多人共處一室、不給燈火、任其暗中互相配偶。又納粟數斗輸錢數貫、即授一官、等語。

奸民設立教會、男女混雜、最爲風俗人心之害。且有擅授官職情事尤屬大干法紀、若不早爲查禁、必致滋生事端。著經額布嚴飭該管地方官密加查訪。如實有此等教會、即行嚴拏懲辦、務使匪徒斂戢、積習肅清。若貽患將來必惟經額布是問。懍之。 *Shing hiun*, chap. 78.

The Director proposes to the Throne that on the occasion of the forthcoming state-examinations in Wei-hwui, secret inquiries shall be made concerning this matter by Ts'ien Fuh-ch'ang 錢福昌 (the Chief Examiner?), and that the matter shall also be taken in hand by the Provincial Governor Kwei Liang 桂良. Further reports since came in concerning this same matter, with rubbings from the stone in question, and these reports held that the Prefect of Kih, on hearing of the arrest of sectaries, had immediately scratched out from all such stones the characters 無生老母, Unbegotten Mother, also in the grave-temple now under consideration, lest copies or rubbings might be taken of them; he had done this without accounting for it to his superiors. Therefore — the emperor decrees — he shall be dismissed, arrested, and prosecuted; and the Prefect of the department of Wei-hwui shall also be dismissed, and be delivered up to the Governor, for examination of his conduct. The images of this Unbegotten Mother, her temples and pagodas, shall altogether be pulled down and destroyed by delegates appointed for this purpose by the Governor, and this grandee himself, on his tour of inspection this very year shall personally follow up the matter, and see that these orders are strictly carried out. He shall also destroy the tomb in question, and instruct all his subordinates to prevent the people from giving ear to the seductions of heresy, and to bestir themselves for a wholesale extermination of this evil.

Wei-hwui is the same department where in 1813 the insurrection of the sect of the Eight Diagrams was prepared and broke out. We have seen on page 420 that at that time the sacred formula of Lin Ts'ing and this sect was an invocation of the Unbegotten Father and Mother, or Heaven and Earth. And now, after twenty-five years, we find this sentence, or a part of it, carved in stone in different spots and temples, evidently for purposes of adoration; so the conclusion seems justifiable that the sect had recuperated from the blows dealt to it in that terrible year, and even felt strong enough openly to possess temples in honour of its chief goddess. Thus these temples, now doomed to destruction by the emperor, bore a striking testimony to the toughness of the sect under the hammer of persecution. Subsequently, a decree, offered by us to the reader in full on page 22, announced that the arrests made in Honan had led to the discovery of no less than thirty-nine such temples, erected during the Ming dynasty; they were now all demolished. In addition, the emperor ordered to make quests and inquiries that might

also lead to such temple-destruction in the surrounding provinces of Chihli, Shantung and Shansi. Nothing is reported about the results of this campaign; but seven years later, in 1845, the emperor shortly referred to the matter in a decree of the 22nd of the third month (28 April). The Censorate having reported to him an accusation brought by some person from Honan against a certain Li Yü-hwo 李語和 for having beguiled some one by heresies and oneiromancy, the emperor wrote to the Governor of Honan to inquire whether, after their destruction seven years ago, cottages and images of the Unbegotten Mother had again been erected within his dominion. Should this be the case, he decreed, the Governor Ngoh Shun-ngan (page 517) must raze them to the ground, and also appoint commissioners for trying the accused (*Sh. h.* 78).

The official world, never weary of zealous attempts to destroy dangerous sectarianism, opened a campaign against it towards the end of the year 1839 in the region north of Lin-ts'ing, the principal scene of the destructive rebellion of 1774. According to a decree of the 13th of the tenth month (17 Nov.), the Censor Cheu Ch'un-khi 周春祺 reported to the Throne that long ago, in the district of Shang-ho 商河 (map, p. 516), there lived a sectary, Tung Szě-hai 董四海 by name, whose offspring for seven generations had been divided into eight sectarian branches. When in 1835 persecutions took place in Ts'ing-ho 清河, in Chihli (map, p. 516), it came to light that the heresies prevailing there had proceeded from a certain Master Tung (董師父); a confiscated document contained the name of Tung Szě-hai, together with the information that his adherents were divided into eight branches, as also the names of the members of the chief branch. Those sectaries at every meal raised both hands and folded them. The eighth branch, from which arrests were made in the district of Ku-ch'ing 故城, north-east of Ts'ing-ho, was the T'ien-men kiao 添門教, "religion of the Growing School" (?); the third ramification was established in the district of Nan-kung 南宮, to the west of Ku-ch'ing, and was called Yih-chu-hiang wu-hwun kiao 一柱香五葷教, "the sect of One Incense-stick and Five Forbidden Eatables". Another branch existed in Ki 冀, an adjacent department. Of the sixth ramification various members were examined, and one of them, Tung Tan 董坦 or Tung P'ing-sin 董平心, was found to be a descendant of Tung Szě-hai in the sixth generation. Through him it was discovered that the grave of this sect-leader was situated in the village of the Tung

family, in the district of Shang-ho, and that every year in the third and in the eighth month pilgrims came from all parts to worship at it. In that same village, Tung Tan directed the propagation of the sect. He was incarcerated in the capital of the province, and there died. The Governor T'oh-hwun-pu 托渾布, the emperor decrees, shall delegate officials to investigate all these matters minutely, and he shall destroy all those ramifications, stem and root. If this be not properly done, the Governor shall be called to account. He shall therefore beware of disregarding this command. We learn nothing further about the persecution entailed by this peremptory Imperial order.

Meanwhile the Sage Edict and its miraculous anti-heretical power maintained its high position among the many things which claimed the emperor's attention. Both on the 4th and on the 30th of the tenth month of the year 1839 Imperial decrees appear (*Sh. h.* 78), prescribing that, in accordance with propositions made to that effect by Ch'en Lwan 陳鸞, Viceroy of Kiangnan, and by the Governor and the Director of Literary Studies of Kiangsu, the sermon about heresy and its persecution, contained in that most eminent state-document, shall be published and forwarded to the provinces by the Imperial Government in a metrical version, in sentences of four characters each, composed by the Hanlin College. Every Provincial Director of Literary Studies (學政) and president at the examinations for the lowest degree, shall, on entering upon this office, that is to say, once in every three years, issue a new edition of this product of wisdom, and distribute it among the schoolboys and students of his province. We have never been able to get hold of a copy of this edition.

During the years 1839 and 1840, the province of Hupeh in particular was the scene of heretic persecutions, owing to the zeal of the Viceroy Cheu T'ien-tsioh 周天爵, whose name will surely stand for ever in golden characters in the list of statesmen of unadulterated Confucian breed. We learn from a decree of the 13th of the ninth month (18 Oct.), 1839, that this grandee informed the Throne that in Siang-yang — which, as the reader will remember, in 1794 was the centre of persecutions which led to the great insurrection of five provinces — he had arrested several heretics, in possession of documents breathing rebellion. The manner in which, judging from the correspondence, he has acted in this matter — the emperor declares — is highly praiseworthy.

Hwang Khi-ning 黃起能, a heretic who fled before the mandarins and hid himself, yet possessed the audacity to persuade people to become members of his sect, and distributed ranks and titles; "how abominable, how wicked! his crime is inexcusable, and deserves the pain of death" (可恨、可惡、罪不容誅). Some of the captives had declared that these sectaries were also hidden in various districts of Chihli, Szě-ch'wen and Honan; Imperial orders shall therefore be sent to the Viceroy and Governors of those provinces, to hunt them up with all energy and send them to Hupeh. And Cheu T'ien-tsioh shall see to it that the prisoners be thoroughly examined, in order that more heretics and more heresy be discovered; and he shall punish them all severely, in order that not one escape through the meshes of the net.

While the capital of Hupeh was thus made a centre of religious inquisition and became a place of torment for heretics sent thither from various parts within and without the province, to fill its dungeons — a Censor in the Metropolis proved most effectually how imminently necessary these strenuous measures were. For even among the Manchu garrisons established in the provinces to ensure the safety of the dynasty and to smother in its birth every symptom of sedition or rebellion — even among them heresy had nestled! In the twelfth month, on the fifth day (9 Jan. 1840), a decree appeared (*Sh. h.* 78) with reference to the proposal of this Wu I-hi 巫宜禔 to take stronger measures for the extermination of this evil, which of late years had made steady progress, witness the fact that in the current year a persecution had to be made in King-cheu 荊州, the chief Manchu garrison in Hukwang, on account of meetings held for the reading of religious writings. The Commanders of the garrisons — the Imperial edict prescribes — shall constantly occupy the soldiers with military exercises, and by severe punishments they shall prevent their becoming contaminated with heresy and their making common cause with turbulent spirits.

It may be taken for granted that a formidable heresy-hunter such as Cheu T'ien-tsioh did not leave the Christians in his dominion unmolested. He has gained for himself everlasting notoriety in the Catholic mission as the instrument through which Father Perboyre received a martyr's crown. Only two Chinese documents referring to this tragic episode have come within our reach. The one is an Imperial decree of the 23rd of the second month (26 March), 1840, which we find reprinted

for the instruction of the mandarinates in several editions of the Code of Laws, side by side with the Law against Heresy, "Henceforth, whenever people guilty of propagation or exercise of the religion of the Lord of Heaven apply to the authorities, in order to declare of their own accord that they renounce that religion; or when they renounce it voluntarily on being arrested and taken before the magistracy, it shall be obligatory, in obedience to the Imperial rescripts of the Kia khing period, to take out of the houses of those criminals the cross they were wont to worship, and make them put their foot upon it. If they do so without reluctance, they may be exempt from punishment and be set free; and if, after pardon has been granted to them, they practise that religion again, their punishment, unless it be death, shall be increased one degree. And if the punishment is deportation and cannot be rendered heavier, the culprits shall be exposed with a heavy cangue for three months in the district where they committed the offence. Respect this!"¹

The other document is a decree of the 25th of the seventh month (22 Aug.), 1840: "Cheu T'ien-tsioh reports to Us that he has arrested a European who misled the people by the promulgation of his religion, together with all those guilty of believing and practising that heretical religion, and that he has examined and sentenced all these persons severally. In this lawsuit it has come to light that Tung Wen-hioh had the audacity to take this European into the interior for the propagation of the religion of the Lord of Heaven and for the misleading of the multitude through the preaching of religious books, a thing which really must be reckoned among the greatest of crimes, and the acme of mischief. The Prefects of the department and the district concerned have immediately arrested that culprit and also traced and captured many professors of his religion. They have thereby made themselves very meritorious, and what they have done may be considered to outbalance any shortcomings in the investigation.

1 嗣後傳習天主教人犯干赴官首明出教、及被獲到官情愿出教、俱著遵照嘉慶年間諭旨、將該犯等家內起出素所供奉之十字架、令其跨越。果係欣然試跨、方准免罪釋放、如免罪之後復犯習教、除犯該死罪外、餘俱於應得本罪上加一等治罪。已至遣罪無可復加者、即在犯事地方用重枷枷號三個月。欽此。

"They therefore deserve Our favour, indulgence and pardon. As regards the culprits, they have confessed that the European Muh-tao-yuen had been in the district of Nan-chang and in the department of Mien-yang (map, p. 352). He is being sought for, but not a trace of him can be found; he may therefore be roaming about for the propagation of his religion. The Viceroy or Governor of each province shall send strict orders to every department and every district to track and capture him; there the utmost shall be done to catch him for examination and trial"¹.

For further particulars about this persecution, which broke out in Hupeh in September 1839, we refer amongst others to Huc, IV, chap. VII. The Lazarite Gabriel Perboyre was incarcerated in the district of Kuh-ch'ing 穀城; he was tortured before the tribunal of the Prefect with the usual Chinese cruelties, and afterwards delivered up to the Prefect of Siang-yang, at whose hands he received a similar treatment. Then he was sent to Wu-ch'ang, the capital of the province, and after having suffered for months at the hands of the Viceroy, he was publicly strangled in September 1840. The hunted missionary Muh-tao-yuen may have been either the Lazarite Baldus, who together with Perboyre had to seek safety in flight when their Christian community was pounced upon, or the Lazarite Rameaux, who was likewise searched for by the authorities.

The latter of the two decrees given above is the last we find recorded in the *Shing hiun* about Christian persecutions. This does not mean that there were no such persecutions after that date, for history teaches us differently. But with the so-called Opium War of 1842 there began for Chinese Christianity an era in which its lot was no longer defined exclusively by the fanaticism of the State, but more and more came under the influence of the Powers, and the treaties enforced by them upon the empire. Now and then, since that turn of the tide, the Chinese Government under

¹ 周天爵等奏拏獲傳教惑衆之西洋人、並信習邪教各犯、分別審擬一摺。此案董文學以西洋人膽敢潛入內地傳習天主教講經惑衆、實屬罪大惡極。該州縣即將該犯拏獲並訪獲習教多人。功過尙足相抵所有失察處分。著加恩寬免。至該犯等供出西洋人穆導沅曾至沔陽州南漳縣境內。現在查拏無蹤、難保不逗留傳教。著各直省督撫嚴飭各州縣查拏、務獲究辦。 *Shing hiun*, chap. 86.

pressure of the Powers has reminded its mandarins that they have to consider the Law against Heresy as abolished with regard to the Christians, and to protect these people like other imperial subjects. Yet all these fine extorted measures have not prevented attacks upon missionary stations frequently taking place under the lead of Confucian literati, at which the authorities calmly looked on, either unwilling or unable to restrain the rabble. It is but fair to say, however, that now and then Viceroy, Governors and other officers have issued proclamations forbidding the Christians to be interfered with or molested, even describing their religion as something worth recommending. Yet it has much more frequently happened that mandarins connived at, and thus directly promoted, the posting up of exciting placards, molestations of the worst kind, and the plundering of chapels and dwellings, subsequently not moving a finger to punish the ringleaders and lettered instigators. In their official missives mandarins have slandered the Christians, starting from the stereotyped Confucian axiom that all heresy is the deepest depravity, and every missionary and convert, on account of his transgressions of the Law on Heresy, a rioter in reality, and thus belonging to the scum of mankind. Proposals have been made by them to the Government to compel the Christians to be registered and to affix marks upon their houses and dress — we understand with what fair object. Literary graduates and officials joining the Christians or associating with them, have been threatened with loss of rank and position, and these threats actually carried out. Christians have been persecuted upon all kinds of pretexts and false accusations, tortured, banished, executed, and missionaries interfering in behalf of such victims have been decried as rowdies placing themselves above the laws of the empire and trying to save their criminal converts from well-deserved punishment. Compared with such things, daily insults, outrage, stoning, are mere trifles. Natives have been regularly deterred from selling or letting their property for chapels or hospitals, by the certain prospect of receiving a number of blows in the tribunals, coupled with extortion of the purchase-money or rent. The attitude of the Chinese powers that be towards Christianity, illustrated by numberless events of the kind, can hardly be otherwise than fully explicable for our readers, who now understand the Confucian spirit of the State with regard to heresy.

And so we are led to the conclusion that Chinese Christianity cannot do without the protection of the foreign Powers, and that, should this protection be withdrawn, it may soon be trampled

out by police and soldiery. From the mouths of missionaries themselves we frequently heard the assertion that their work could best flourish without such protection, as the fact of having to rely exclusively upon their own strength and devotion would fortify and improve their position, and bring them into credit with the Chinese Government, even secure its favour. But such theorists reckon without their host: Confucianism. Certainly, periods are imaginable in which Confucian state-fanaticism slumbers, and thus the working of the anti-heretic polity may be weak, or even at a standstill. Romanism in the seventeenth and the eighteenth century has known such periods. But they are of small account compared with the evil chance that the ever-impending storm of persecution may break forth at any time, and simply annihilate the foreign religion.

Unless under official foreign protection, the Christian communities in China are always in peril of death. A weak attitude of the representatives of the Powers, an expression, a proof of their indifference for the Mission, can everywhere and at any moment be a sign to fanatical local authorities and literati for molesting the Christians and for bloody persecution. And if — what always happens with mathematical certainty — an armed collision of the empire with a Power brings into circulation tales about the latter's defeats and the annihilation of its armies and ships, so that the learned believe that none need anymore fear it and the conventions have become waste paper, then Christianity immediately has to smart for it. Thus the hostile exploits of France in Formosa, and on the Fuh-cheu rivier in August 1885 were followed by attacks upon inland Christians and chapels in Kwangtung, of which, again, the literati, as faithful hangers-on of the mandarin, were the authors and instigators, and the local authorities the silent and passive spectators. The same phenomenon appeared in 1900. The State's Confucian instinct for persecution, embodied in the Law against Heresy, is thus like the sword of Damocles, and the protection granted to the Christians by the Powers is not much stronger than the hair.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE T'AI-P'ING REBELLION.

We are now approaching one of the most important periods in the modern history of Eastern Asia, a period of devastation and warfare known as that of the T'ai-p'ing rebellion, which drenched China in blood, brought the dynasty quite near to its fall, and would probably have annihilated it if the arms of despised western barbarians had not interfered.

A momentous question here presents itself. The Tsing dynasty after taking possession of the throne had great wars to wage, more especially for the subjugation of frontier regions, as Mongolia, Dzungar, Turkestan, Tibet, Nepaul, Korea, Upper Birma, and Annam. Within the borders of the eighteen provinces it had to take the field against Miao-tszë and kindred tribes; military mutiny had to be quenched in streams of blood, as also riots and insurrections among the people. And, as we have seen, these latter were often caused by oppressed and persecuted religionists, or, at any rate, their sects played a most important part therein. Is it not natural therefore that the question should arise in our minds: was the great T'ai-p'ing rebellion, too, a religious rebellion, of the same kind as that which Wang Lun provoked in 1774, or as that which in the last years of the eighteenth century and the first years of the nineteenth raged in the western provinces? Was it a revolt of the same nature as that which devastated Formosa in 1786, or which in 1813 converted several districts in three provinces into a desert?

We feel little doubt that, as soon as Chinese historians supply us with sufficient data about the causes of this insurrection, these questions will be answered in an affirmative sense. But even now we find in the Imperial decrees of the *Shing hiun* numerous indications that religious persecution was, if not the only, at least the main source of it.

The southern portion of Hunan was the cradle of the insurrection; from there it first spread to the adjacent provinces of

Kwangsi and Kwangtung. We have seen (pp. 522 and foll.) that in the said part of the empire Sectarianism flourished, and, witness the attack on Wu-kang in 1836, was capable of displaying great energy and force. We know that this onset was provoked by persecutions under the reign of the Viceroy Noh 'rh-king-ngoh, the tried heresy-hunter of the north. We know that these occurrences induced the emperor to extend the heresy-hunt to the neighbouring provinces. We know also, generally speaking, enough of official persecutions to form an idea as to what must have been the effects of these Imperial orders, the consternation and exasperation caused thereby. We have learned that the main leader of that revolt was a Yao aboriginal. It seems, indeed, well established that the original population of those regions formed an important insurgent element in the first phase of the T'ai-p'ing movement.

The persecutions entailed by these events of 1836 must have put the peaceful disposition of the people to a severe test; yet no edicts mention anything of agitation, sedition, mutiny, or revolt. It seems, however, but natural to admit that the seed of rebellion ripened, for in 1843 a fresh insurrection broke out in the same region. A decree of the 22nd of the sixth month (19 July) of that year, and another, issued a week later, inform us that in the district of Sin-hwa 新化, situated north of Wu-kang (map, p. 506), the civil and military forces had captured more than a hundred rebels in the hardly accessible mountain regions. This event caused the emperor to insist upon the energetic continuation of the work of purification, and he ordered that a suitable distribution of slashings, decapitations and strangulations should take place among the captives. It is not mentioned however, that any sects or sectaries were concerned in this rebellion, nor do the decrees give us the reasons for this explosion of the people's discontent.

In the beginning of the previous year, the hot rebellious spirit had exploded in the more northerly parts of this same viceroyalty. As we learn from an edict of the 25th of the twelfth month (5 Febr.), 1842, and from a series of decrees issued during the two following months (*S. h.* 24), the chief cities of the districts of Ch'ung-yang 崇陽 and T'ung-ch'ing 通城 (map, p. 506) in the department of Wu-ch'ang 武昌, situated in the south-east of Hupeh, had been surprised by a certain Chung Jen-kieh 鍾人杰; the prisons had been opened, the arsenals plundered, and a rebel government established. Over three thousand

soldiers had been in arms to re-capture those cities and the other fortresses which had been taken, and to make a general hunt after rebels over several districts of the adjacent north-western portion of Hunan. The manner in which the soldiery raged here, would be little calculated to pacify the exasperated people. And so the ground for the great rebellion was being steadily prepared by the indefatigable Viceroy. Chung Jen-kieh was finally captured, and sent up to Peking.

While in 1844 the work of destroying the rebels in Sin-hwa was in full course, flames of the smouldering fire broke out elsewhere in Hunan, in the district of Lei-yang 耒陽. In decrees of the 9th and the 19th of the seventh month (22 Aug. and 1 Sept.) we read (*Sh. h.* 86) that the attacks of the rebels upon the district-city had failed; already eight of them had been put to death, fourteen had been sent up to the capital of the province, and the family of the insurgent chief Yang Ta-p'eng 陽大鵬 was in the hands of the authorities, now busily engaged in extorting from them such particulars as might lead to fresh prosecutions. With the most praiseworthy severity the work of purification was carried on in that district and those surrounding it by the Governor Luh Fei-ts'üen 陸費瑒 and the Provincial Commander-in-Chief of the military forces Shih Sheng-yuh 石生玉. Meanwhile the heresy-hunt was continued vigorously, doubtless under the impression that religious societies had a hand in the various outbursts of opposition. From a decree of the second day of the fourth month (6 May 1845) we learn that a hunt on a large scale had been set on foot against the Blue Lotus sect by various provincial high dignitaries in the south-west of the realm. Li Sing-yuen 李星沅, Viceroy of Yunnan and Kwei-cheu, had reported that he had squeezed from his captives the information that this sect had spread abroad from Szě-ch'wen, and was propagated from this province by one Li Yih-yuen 李一原. The Viceroy of Hukwang, Yü T'ai 裕泰, had confirmed this statement, and communicated that abstinence from certain forbidden food was one of the chief principles of the sect. The relations of that hierarch were safely incarcerated in Szě-ch'wen, but he himself could not be found. Therefore — the emperor decrees — he shall be searched for in all directions; also all the other "altar-chiefs" (主壇) or heads of communities, whose names have been revealed, shall be tracked; not one guilty person shall escape. And in Hupeh confessions had been forced from the prisoners, to the effect that they were in connection with sectaries in Hunan, Yunnan, and

the viceroyalty of Kiangnan, and that at the breaking out of the persecutions many had fled to Shantung, Honan, Kiangsi, and Chehkiang. Evidently therefore the sect has its ramifications there also, and the Viceroys and Governors shall set to work!

This heresy-hunt, according to a decree of the 9th of that same month (13 May), resulted in several fresh captures of importance. Writings were confiscated, which brought to light the names of four propagandists from Hunan, who had been working in Honan and Chihli; it was also found that at one of the gates of Khai-fung, the capital of Honan, the sect was in possession of a "hall for washing the hearts" (任洗心堂). Chihli must therefore also be attended to — the emperor decrees — this domain so close to the Imperial residence! Noh 'rh-king-ngoh, its Viceroy, shall commence a vigorous search, but he shall not cause alarm or panic among the people, lest it rise in rebellion. And in Honan the Viceroy Ngoh Shun-ngan shall institute inquiries; and even to Kansuh, Shensi and Szĕ-ch'wen Imperial rescripts shall be sent to make investigations and begin the chase.

And so a general persecution broke forth in the empire. The decrees do not tell us much about its results. We only learn from one of the 23rd day of the fifth month (27 June) that Wang Yuh-lien 王毓濂, Prefect of the department of Mienyang 沔陽 in south Hupeh (map, p. 506), bordering on the scene of the rebellion of 1842, through his inactivity had allowed a general headman of the sect to make his escape. This heresiarch, designated as such by prisoners in Szĕ-ch'wen and Shensi, was called Chu Chung-lih 朱中立, and was a disciple of one P'eng I-fah 彭依法. Hence that Prefect was dismissed, and the emperor prescribes that those two men shall be searched for with redoubled zeal. Was this mandarin perhaps on the side of the heretics?

We saw on page 532 that in 1840 heresy had been discovered and persecuted in the Manchu garrison of Hukwang, the palladium of the Imperial power in that portion of the realm. Now again, in 1845, the same thing occurred there; nay, what was worse, heretical soldiers of the garrison made common cause with heretics amongst the Chinese population! All this we learn from a decree of the 18th of the fourth month (22 May); Bannermen and heretic civilians read religious writings together; they were in possession of "exercises for repentance, writings of admonition, regulations for their halls, and books about conduct and ritual" (懺悔課單堂規禮本), all full of nonsense and untruth,

and altogether unclassical. This is violation of the Law, apart from the fact that one cannot help suspecting these people of holding meetings and having communities. Therefore they shall be delivered up to the Viceroy of Hukwang, and examined with great severity; persons named by them shall be zealously tracked and tried by the Prefects, and an equally rigorous and diligent search shall be made in the garrisons, in order that also among the armed power heresy may be exterminated, root and stem.

We may feel sure that Noh 'rh-king-ngoh did not make light of the above-mentioned Imperial edict of the 13th of May, and more vigorously than ever instituted a search for heretics and sects in his province. A decree of the 21st of the seventh month (23 Aug.) informs us, that in P'ing-ts'üen 平泉 (map, p. 516) a sectary had been arrested, Wang Sheu-yung 王壽榮 by name, with whom papers had been found, bearing "a drawing of the three epochs" (參元圖), and who had confessed to have been converted to the Yellow Lotus religion by one Ts'ui Kin-poh 崔金伯, from Shantung. He betrayed the names of sixteen co-religionists, amongst whom was one Chao Jen-tsun 趙仁尊, in whose house a portrait of the head of the Religion of the Rules of Heaven (天理教主圖像) was worshipped. The printing-board of that drawing of the three epochs had been given to him by Ts'ui Kin-poh, to have copies of it made and distributed, and he had done this in many places, also in Sheu-kwang 壽光 (map, p. 516), a district in Shantung, with the result that he was there betrayed by a literary graduate. The emperor expresses his amazement and indignation about the fact that, at this very time when persecution of heresy was found so necessary, this Wang Sheu-yung had the courage to distribute heretical papers. No doubt all districts of Chihli are defiled by such secret heresies; Noh 'rh-king-ngoh shall set his Prefects to work, and conduct the persecutions in person. Wang Sheu-yung shall be delivered up to him for examination, and the graduate too shall be put to trial, for he may turn out to be a sectary as well; and further, all guilty persons shall be tracked, in co-operation with the Governor of Shantung.

The heresy-hunt in Hunan received a fresh impulse in 1847 from persecutions which took place in the adjacent province of Kiangsi. In a decree of the 24th day of the eighth month (1 Oct.) of that year the emperor sanctioned a persecution undertaken by Wu Wen-yung 吳文鎔, the Governor of Kiangsi. Over and over again, thus H. I. M. wrote, sectaries have been found to live there in the departments of Nan-ngan 南安 and Kan-cheu

贛州 (map, p. 506), between Hunan, Kwangtung and Fuhkien; it has been discovered that they form societies which make proselytes and do much harm by their turbulent and riotous character. This time therefore the persecution and extermination shall be performed thoroughly. The Governor and the Chief Judge by rigorous measures have forced from the prisoners the confession that those sectaries seek Salvation in fasting, and pay contributions; but who can guarantee that there is not much more and far worse behind those things? For it has also been discovered that they have one Wang Ch'ing-kin 王成金, in Hunan, for their headman; moreover, one Sié Tsz'ě-hwa 謝詞華 with several others have committed the greatest possible offence against the law by forming a conspiracy of sworn brethren for rescuing prisoners (fellow heretics?) out of the hands of the law. Post-haste this Our command that everywhere rigorous arrests and prosecutions must take place, shall be forwarded to Hunan. From those already under arrest confessions shall be extorted in every possible way, and the persons betrayed by them shall be immediately tracked in all directions.

We note then how during those years persecutions were set on foot in all directions, especially in Hunan; can we doubt, even though the decrees vouchsafe us no further details, that hatred against the mandarinates there rose to the highest pitch? A proof of this is furnished by the fact that for the third time in the unfortunate Wu-kang department a rebellion broke out. As in 1836, it was the Yao element which took up arms. Were these people the tools of Chinese victims of persecution, who had taken refuge among them? Were they related by marriage to such fugitives, or connected with them by any other ties? Were there among them members of persecuted sects? Or did exasperation against the Government, provoked by the bloody wars so often waged against them, make them side with the Chinese population, now that this also was rising? All these are questions upon which the Imperial decrees do not give us any reply; but we may presume the answer to be for most, if not for all, in the affirmative.

Four decrees of the eleventh month bring news of struggle in Sin-ning 新寧, a district south of Wu-kang, and in Ts'uen 全, a department in adjacent Kwangsi. They speak of Provincial Judges being deputed to the scene of action, of ensuing arrests, of mobilization of troops in the two provinces, of the capture of the Yao chief Lei Tsai-hao 雷再浩, of the death of another,

called Li Shi-teh 李世得. In a few months time the country was, to outward appearance, pacified. Meanwhile, according to a decree of the 12th day of the fourth month of the following year (14 May 1848), the Viceroy of Kwangtung and Kwangsi, Ki Ying 耆英, of European repute for the part he played towards the close of the Opium War, had in his dominion carried on a vigorous search for the scattered victims of the late persecutions in Kiangsi and Hunan. The same state-document tells us that he also confiscated books and writings, prints and drawings; that several of the prisoners had been sent up to him to Canton for examination; that confessions had been forced from them, to the effect that the sectaries in Kiangsi professed the Kin-tan kiao 金丹教 or religion of the Gold Medical Elixir, and worshipped the Unbegotten Mother; that many had joined the Heaven and Earth society, etc. These sects — the emperor declares — may be considered altogether to be remnants of the White Lotus society, and must consequently be treated as rebellious corporations. All members captured or still to capture in Kwangtung and Kwangsi, in Kiangsi and Hunan, shall therefore be prosecuted, punished with severity, and exterminated.

The peace, apparently, restored by the military powers in Sining and Ts'uen, was only of short duration, and in 1849 the forebodings of a storm no longer uncertain, evinced themselves in all parts of the Hunan province. No doubt the emperor was deluged with information on this head, for it appears from a decree of the 17th day of the ninth month (1 Nov.) that he was quite aware of what was going on. "The departments of "Yoh-cheu, Shang-teh and Li", we read in this document, "as also "that of Ch'ang-sha, which on the one side give access to Khien "(Kweichu) and to Yueh (Kwangsi and Kwangtung), and on the "other to King-cheu and Siang-yang (in Hupeh), are, especially "between the branches of the rivers, the haunts of rebels. And in the "subdivisions of the departments of Heng-cheu, Yung-cheu, Ch'en, "and Kwei-yang; which border on the two Yueh (Kwangsi and "Kwangtung), numerous rebellious individuals from other regions "mix with the people, and seduce the loyalists and the good to "profess their religions, to found communities for the purpose, "and wantonly to plunder and pillage. Frequently large numbers "of culprits captured by the civil and military officials in those "regions, have been severally judged and sentenced immediately; "and still again in the districts of Ling and Ngan-jen, and in "the Ch'a-ling department arrests of rioters have taken place, viz.

"of T'an Sū-heng and seventeen others, on which occasion commandant-flags, shields, banners, printing-brushes, and pictures of "the eight diagrams on paper have been confiscated, also manuscript "copies of books on military tactics, and similar things"¹. P'ing Teh-hing 憑德馨, the newly appointed Commander of the military forces in the province — thus decrees the Son of Heaven — shall immediately upon his installation undertake the total extermination, root and stem, of all the evil which he shall be able to track by means of the information and hints elicited from the prisoners.

And so we see the population of eastern Hunan declared to be in open opposition against the Government, and Sectarianism pointed out as the chief cause of it. This campaign undertaken by the new Military Commander, was it perhaps the last caloric which made the ebullition become an eruption? Who can tell? The fact remains that a few weeks later the flames of revolt broke out anew, and, surely not by chance, in Sin-ning, near the so much harassed Wu-kang.

In the 24th chapter of the *Shing hium*, which treats of Military Operations (武功), some decrees are given which enable us to follow a little the course of events. According to one of the 1st day of the eleventh month (14 Dec.), the rebels invaded the city of Sin-ning under the lead of Li Yuen-fah 李沅發; they killed the Prefect and all the relatives of his predecessor, destroyed the government buildings, and liberated the prisoners. On the 29th of the same month the town was re-captured with great slaughter, and the insurgents took refuge in the mountains, from which they made incursions into Kwangsi. A decree of the 7th of the twelfth month (20 Jan. 1850) tells us (*Sh. h.* 87) that they had their headquarters in the Lai-tszé mountains (賴子山) of the department of Tao 道, the south-eastern part of Hunan, bordering on Kwangsi. There they forged their arms, their plans

¹ 湖南岳州常德澧州三府州及長沙府屬、上通黔粵、下達荆襄、其中港汊分歧最爲盜賊窩藏之藪。其衡永郴桂各府州屬、俱與兩粵連界、亦多外來匪徒潛跡其間、誘脅良善習教結會、肆行搶奪。疊經各該地方文武員弁獲犯多名、均已隨時分別懲辦。現在酃縣安仁茶陵等州縣又復拏獲匪徒譚敘亨等十八名、並起獲令旗腰牌旗幟刻刷八卦圖紙片、及鈔寫兵法書本等件。

and stratagems; there also their inciting proclamations were posted up and distributed in large numbers. P'ing Teh-hing therefore was to march thither the military forces concentrated in Sinning. About this phase of the rebellion we have information in decrees given in the 68th chapter of the *Shing hiun* of Wen Tsung 文宗, the new emperor who in 1850 ascended the throne; they enable us to follow the course of events step by step, beginning from that year; we direct the attention of sinologues to the existence of this precious material. It points to a steady expansion of the rebellion over Kwangsi and Kwangtung, and over the south-west of Hunan, in the department of Tsing 靖, until a decree of the 24th day of the fourth month (4 June) tells us (*Sh. h.* 15) of the open confession of Yü T'ai, Viceroy of Hukwang (p. 539), and Ching Tsu-ch'en 鄭祖琛, Governor of Kwangsi, that the insurrection had spread in the three provinces to such an extent that it was no longer possible to quench it with the forces at their disposal. After that follow some better tidings for the Government; as, for instance, according to a decree of the 6th of the fifth month or June 14, that the bands of Li Yuen-fah after several battles and skirmishes had been dispersed with great slaughter, their leader wounded, arrested, and sent up to Peking in a cage. This success however did not suppress the insurrection, and we may admit that the ensuing chase scattered numerous rebels, as seed for new revolt, over a much vaster area.

In fact we have official evidence that the sects were stirring all over the empire, even occasionally conspiring with the Moslems, and that the mandarinat could no longer rely upon their own servants. All this we learn from a decree of the 4th day of the fourth month (15 May), which sounds almost like a cry of distress at the approach of a hurricane: "Tung Ying-shan, Reader in "the Chancery, has sent Us a memorial about the checking of "riotous movements and the punishing of rebellion. According to "his statements, everywhere and in all places heretic sects and "rebels are to be found; but especially where districts border "upon one another the rebels practise clever methods for hiding "and secreting themselves, and the sects spread and expand in "various ways. Members of sects and of other societies, who on "former occasions were sought for to be brought to justice, "now make others of that kind, who have slipped through the "net, disperse in all directions like a stream with ramifications; "and so in these latter days again clubs combine into groups, "as those of Shing-hing khih-fung or 'Perfect Conduct and

"Salary" in Kiangsu, especially numerous everywhere in Hwai-ngan, "and those of Shing-hing tsai li or 'Internal Perfect Conduct' "in Chihli, especially numerous in T'ien-tsin and Tsing-hai (map, "p. 516). Even among the lictors and yamen-servants in office are "many sectaries who by talking about misfortune and happiness "(damnation and salvation?) fan the fire of error among the "ignorant rural populace, and exercise a great influence upon the "morality of the living generation and upon their hearts. In the "department of Ts'ang, in Chihli (map, p. 516), one even sees the "Mohammedans now and then, in concert with the sectaries of "the Shantung districts of T'eng, Yih (map, p. 298) and Lan-shan "(I-cheu), make their living of riot and rebellion; it has even in "the long run come to their practices being transmitted from "father to son, and leaders transmitting them to their disciples¹.

"And of late years, both in Kwangsi and Kweichu there have "been prosecutions against large gangs going out to plunder "and pillage, to fight and to rob; and in Chihli and Shantung "against people who had robbed the government coaches in which "dispatches were transported. Frequently the emperor prescribed "that orders should be issued to institute secret arrests; but "the prefectural civil and military officials considered these as "orders merely on paper. To take a general view of the state of "matters: in Chihli, Shantung and Shansi, in Honan, Nganhwui, "Hupeh and Shensi, in Szě-ch'wen, Kiangsi, Kwangtung, Hunan "and Kwangsi, the rebels behave as masters all along the water- "ways and landroads, and everywhere on the frontiers. If caught "in one place, they find shelter in an other..... The "Viceroy or Governor of each province and the Governor of the "Shun-t'ien department (Peking) — the emperor decrees — shall

¹ 內閣侍讀學士董瀛山奏弭盜詰奸一摺。據稱邪教盜賊在在皆有、而避藏之巧蔓延之多惟交界處所爲最。歷舉從前查辦教匪會匪各案以漏網餘匪支流蔓延、近又結黨成群、如江蘇盛行喫俸名目、而淮安一帶尤甚、直隸盛行在裏名目、而天津靜海等處尤甚。在官人役亦多習教之人妄言禍福煽惑鄉愚、於世道人心大有關繫。又如直隸滄州一帶回匪往往與山東滕縣嶧縣蘭山縣等處教犯以盜賊爲生業、竟至父子習傳、師徒授受。

"institute a strict but secret search after every religious sect; they shall capture every rebel, as well as the yet remaining culprits of other fraternities, and thus effect a purification and extermination, finally punishing them in the most rigorous way, in order to make the laws of the Dynasty shine gloriously, and render the minds of the people orthodox"¹. And their soldiery shall occupy the passes and frontiers in their territory, to prevent guilty persons from fleeing to other parts, this being the right method to restore and ensure peace.

As we have seen, the rebellion spread more especially over Kwangsi and Kwangtung. On the 1st of the seventh month (7 Aug.), a decree (*Sh. h.* 90) mentioned the Kwangsi rebel Li Shi-khwei 李士奎, who had penetrated as far as Lien-cheu 廉州, the south-western department of Kwangtung (map, 506); his enterprise however seems to have failed, and he was captured by the Imperial troops. And according to a decree of the 13th day of the ninth month (16 Oct.), the emperor had received reports about further progress of the rebellion in Kwangtung, where the insurgents mustered already eight thousand men; the Viceroy shall have these exterminated efficiently by the military powers!

The condition of affairs grew from bad to worse. According to a decree of the 17th day of the tenth month (20 Nov.), Ching Tsu-ch'en reported a battle of several days in and about the department of Pin 賓, almost in the very centre of Kwangsi (*Sh. h.* 15). On the 11th of the twelfth month (12 Jan. 1851) an edict (*ibid.*) mentioned serious fighting in the Kwangtung departments of Nan-hiung 南雄 and Shao-cheu 韶州, bordering on Kiangsi and Hunan, also in Weng-yuen 翁原, the southern district of Shao-cheu. In Fuh-kang 佛岡 the rebels suffered a serious defeat on the 2nd day of the eleventh month (5 Dec.), followed seven days later by another in Ying-teh 英德, scarcely one degree distant

¹ 近來廣西貴州均有大夥劫搶拒捕之案、直隸山東均有劫奪公車齎本摺差之案。疊經降旨嚴飭密拏、而地方文武視若具文。已可概見、其直隸山東山西河南安徽湖北陝西四川江西廣東湖南廣西各水陸交界之區盜賊公行。此拏彼竄.....著各直省督撫順天府府尹等於各教會名目嚴密查訪、將各匪犯餘黨遺孽掩捕淨盡、從重懲辦、以彰國法而正人心。 *Shing hiun*, chap. 90.

from Canton. And finally the rebellion raged in the far south-west of Kwangtung, in the district of Ling-shan 靈山.

Meanwhile Suen Tsung departed this life on the 14th day of the first month (26 Febr. 1850), and, like his grandfather Jen Tsung, left to his successor an empire visited by a tremendous insurrection provoked by persecution. His successor was his fourth son, Wen Tsung 文宗, who had not yet reached his nineteenth year; he ascended the throne on the 10th of March.

The decrees show us that during the year 1851 the war against the rebels was not waged very vigorously. The Imperial troops seemed paralyzed, giving the insurgents time and opportunity to organize their forces. There was much fermentation everywhere, which eventually broke out in various parts, as, for instance, according to a decree (*Sh. h.* 90) of the 26th day of the first month (26th Febr.), in Chang-cheu 漳州 and Ts'üen-cheu 泉州 (map, p. 342), in Fukkien, a province just then committed to the rule of Yü T'ai, the former Viceroy of Hukwang, known to us as a persecutor of distinction. Instructive is the following extract from a decree of the 28th of the second month (29 March), as it shows that the organization and co-operation of the various sects was a matter of fact. "We have learnt that the heretic sects "have spread and ramified over several provinces. In Honan, in the "district of Siang-fu (Khai-fung, map, p. 298), one Wu-Kwang-han "declares himself to be Great King of the Red Heavens. In the "district of Khi-kiang, in Szě ch'wen, they have their Ma Wu-ch'ing, "called the Great King of the Red Earth. And in Kwangtung, in "the district of Ying-teh (map, p. 506), they have one Li San-wen, "called the Great King of Red Humanity. These men are in those "provinces the chiefs of the general heads of the heretical religions; "besides, their other general heads are by no means scarce. In the "districts where such heads of heresies live, their followers fill the "functions of yamen-servants, and act as their spies about what is "going on; so, when the police and soldiery go out to search for "the heads and to arrest them, these receive a warning before- "hand, so that they can never be caught. In this wise the heretical "religions spread; if no preventive measures are taken, they "must most assuredly ferment and give rise to matters of large "dimensions" ¹. The highest authorities of those provinces shall

¹ 朕聞邪教流傳蔓延數省。河南祥符縣有吳光漢僞稱赤天大王。四川綦江縣有馬武成僞稱赤地大王。廣東英德縣有李三文僞稱赤人大王。均

therefore take the necessary steps for persecution; but they shall do so cautiously, and always in consultation and co-operation with the government in the surrounding provinces, lest the persecution make the evil spread over the latter also.

Another indication of the expansion of the revolt is given by a decree of the 26th day of the fourth month (25 May), treating of disturbances in the province of Kweichou, especially in the departments of Chen-yuen 鎮遠 and Li-p'ing 黎平, situated close to south Hunan (map, page 506). Not only among the Miao-tszë, thus it states, but among the other native population just as well, the rebels are very turbulent, not to speak of those who have come from other parts (外來游匪). They mass together in bands of hundreds, which disturb the peace (*Sh. h.* 90). A decree of the 8th of the fifth month (7 June) announces so-called defeats of the rebels in the district of Si-lin 西林, in the distant west of Kwangsi, near the borders of Yunnan; and also in the district of Poh-peh 博白, in the far south-east of Kwangsi, close to the Kwangtung department of Lien-cheu, which (p. 547) had long since risen in rebellion (*Sh. h.* 15). That same year, in a decree of the 21st of the seventh month (Aug. 16), the emperor vents a bitter complaint concerning the increased and ever increasing activity of the sects in the eastern portion of Hunan, which had not yet altogether risen in open rebellion, a complaint which proves that there those religious corporations openly checked and defied the Imperial authority. This interesting state-paper reads as follows:

"It has been reported to Us that in Hunan, in the departments of Heng-cheu, Yung-cheu, Pao-khing, Ch'en, and Kwei-yang, "as also in the districts of Ngan-hwa, Siang-t'an, and Liu-yang "of the department of Ch'ang-sha (map, p. 506), heretic sects are "everywhere nestled in great numbers. They have there sects of "the Red Registers, of the Black Registers, of the Strawplaiters, "of the Grassmowers, of the Carpenters, etc. Every sect is divided "into sections, indicated respectively by the words mild, loyal, "reverent, disinterested, and complaisant, and every section has "command of several hundreds of persons, sometimes of some "thousands. There are, moreover, fasting-clubs, called Blue sects;

爲各省邪教總目之首、此外總目尙復不少。至邪教頭目所住地方、其徒充當衙役、爲之探事、差弁查拏先通消息、一時未能緝獲。似此邪教蔓延、若不豫爲之防、勢必釀成巨案。 *Shing hiun*, chap. 90.

"all recognize as their general headman the sectarian leader Wan Yun-lung, who dwells on the Ngo-mei mountains in Szĥ-ch'wen; and wherever they live, they have so-called Halls of Loyalty and Duty. All the initiated followers hold a certificate of initiation (tu tieh); provided with illustrated writings, reputation and influence, they keep up a regular communication and mutual intercourse between all places, and everywhere they are supplied with money and food. Every month on the 3rd, 6th and 9th, the 13th, 16th and 19th, the 23rd, 26th and 29th day, they appear before the head of their society; they are seated in litters or on horseback, and incite hundreds of people to indulge in plundering and pillaging, and in wanton robbery; in fact they commit every mischief. The Prefects lack the courage to offer them armed resistance; it occurs that, if in their official correspondence the characters 會匪, "associations of rebels", are used, they are compelled to replace these by others; so also they must change in their missives the word 盜 or "insurgent" for 竊 "secret plotter", or else the officer is caught, insulted, and ill-treated; in this way the fire of rebellion is made to flame up higher and higher. And in the parts of Pao-khing called Shao-yang, Sin-hwa and Wu-kang, the sectaries, under pretext of preventing the exportation of rice, plunder and pillage without restraint; etc."¹ We see then that south-western Hunan remained the great hotbed of the insurrection. It was there that the rebels laid up their stores of

¹ 有人奏湖南衡永寶三府、郴桂兩州、以及長沙府之安化湘潭瀏陽等縣、教匪充斥。有紅簿教、黑簿教、結草教、斬草教、捆柴教等名目。每教分溫良恭儉讓五字號、每號總領數百人至數千人。又有齋匪、名曰青教、皆以四川峨嵋山會首萬雲龍爲總頭目、所居之處有忠義堂名號。其傳徒皆用度牒、蓋以圖記聲氣聯絡往來各處、皆供給銀錢飯食。每月按三六九期赴會頭目、乘轎騎馬、動輒數百人搶奪淫掠、無所不至。地方官不敢櫻鋒、遇有呈報會匪字樣、偁令更換、呈詞或改盜爲竊、反將事主收押陵虐、遂致匪燄愈熾。又寶慶府之邵陽新化武岡等處教匪以阻米出境爲名肆行搶奪各等語。 *Shing hiun*, chap. 90.

food. Unfortunately for us, this account of the state of matters is suddenly interrupted. Of course the emperor orders Ch'ing Yuh-ts'ai, the aged Viceroy of Hukwang (see p. 490), and Sū Tseh-shun 徐澤醇, the Viceroy of Szě-ch'wen, forthwith to institute investigations and take the necessary steps, but most cautiously, in order to prevent a rising. And, H. M. proceeds, it appears from the reports sent in, that propagandists of the sects beguile the people with a book, entitled 性命圭旨 *Sing ming kwei chi*¹, and with another, entitled 水滸傳 *Shui hu ch'wen*². These are printed and distributed throughout Hunan; they are dangerous literature, and the Viceroy and the Governor of those parts shall be instructed to track and destroy them, together with the boards from which they are printed.

According to old usage, the mandarinatè persisted in attempting to conjure the storm by persecution of sectaries. The *Shing hün* tells us as laconically as possible (chap. 90), in a decree of the 2nd day of the eighth month (29 Aug.), that the Viceroy of Hukwang had reported a persecution of "societies" (會匪) in his dominion; and by a decree of the 29th we are told in the same summary fashion, that "religious societies" (教匪) had there been arrested and brought to judgment. Between these two decrees we read, likewise without any particulars, of "religious societies" (教匪) against which Noh'rh-king-ngoh had taken measures in Chihli. Whatever the effects of the persecutions in Hukwang may have been, they did not check the revolt. On the 29th of the second month (19 April, 1852) the rebels were so strong that they laid siege to Kwei-lin 桂林, the capital of Kwangsi, and kept the city inclosed for a whole month (*Sh. h.* 69). And in the south of the eastern half of Hunan, which, as we know, was the most critical locality for the maintenance of Imperial authority, Government was painfully made aware of the fact

1 This work, which I have not seen, seems to be a celebrated treatise on the art of governing the inner man. It was written by an accomplished Taoist of the Sung dynasty, surnamed Yin 尹. The first edition is of A. D. 1615, and another was issued about 1670, in large and handsome style. It is amply illustrated with plates in a very respectable style of art. Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, p. 178.

2 A historical novel in seventy chapters, by one Shi Nai-yen 施耐菴, who flourished about the beginning of the 14th century. Its basis is a rebellion raging in Honan and Shantung, and subdued in 1124, the leader of which was one Sung Kiang 宋江. See the *Notes and Queries on China and Japan*, I, p. 119; in the *China Review*, vol. I, four articles, entitled "Adventures of a Chinese Giant"; and Bazin, "Le Siècle des Youen", pp. 108—198.

that religious persecution was no longer a harmless pastime. According to a decree of the 2nd of the fourth month (20 May), the Prefect of the department of Ch'en, Hu Li-chen 胡禮箴, had taken very rigorous measures, incarcerated a seditious character and five members of a "fasting-society" (齋匪), and thus provoked an onset on his Yamen; he was killed with two of his people, and the prisons were emptied and demolished (*S.h. h.* 91). Was this the signal for the general outburst which now followed? All we learn is that Ch'ang-sha 長沙, the capital of the province, easy to reach from the southern insurgent districts by the Siang 湘 stream, was attacked from all sides. The siege lasted from September the 11th to November the 30th;¹ then the rebels overran the districts round Tung-t'ing lake; on the 12th of January Wu-ch'ang, the capital of Hupeh, was taken by storm, and one month after that, east Hunan and east Hupeh were in their power.

It is not our task to work the ample information, contained in the Imperial decrees, into a regular story of the T'ai-p'ing insurrection. Our object merely was, with the help of that intelligence, furnished by the Government itself, to point out heretic persecution as one of the causes of that rebellion, if not the most important or only important cause. And here we emphatically state we have found nowhere in any native source of research other causes given. The possibility, of course, remains that there have been other causes at work. Sinology has, in fact, discovered some through the inventive genius of authors who wrote during the rebellion and thereafter, and who, not having to keep account with unknown social and economical conditions in the regions where it broke out, could freely draw from their imagination. Nevertheless our conviction stands firm, as long as it is not subverted by Chinese sources, that the T'ai-p'ing rebellion was a repetition of the religious war which raged half a century previous to it in Hupeh and the four adjacent provinces. Then Siang-yang was the centre of the persecution which provoked the rebellion (page 355); now, in 1853, we see the banners of insurrection again raised in this same department (see *S.h. h.* 91, decree of the 13th day of the second month).

And here we may put forth the fact that Hung Siu-ts'uen and the other principal insurgent chiefs were heretics. The Chinese authorities were fully aware of it, for we find it mentioned implicitly in an Imperial decree of the 10th of the fourth month

¹ "Histoire des Relations de la Chine avec les Puissances Occidentales", I, p. 194.

(9 May), 1851 (*Sh. h.* 68), prescribing that the rebels were to be decoyed into political and military snares, and thus subduld by artifice, should arms not be competent to bring them to order: — "When with respect to the insurgent chiefs Wei Ching, "Hung Siu-ts'uen, P'ing Yun-shan, Yang Siu-ts'ing, Hu I-kwang, "and Tseng San-siu, full certainty has been obtained regarding "the question who are the most crafty of religionists among "them, then measures shall be immediately taken to promise "them rewards, in exchange for further threads of information "....."¹ It is also a well-known fact that, chiefly on account of a wild story told by Theodore Hamberg, a missionary of the Basle Evangelical Society, Hung Siu-ts'uen was supposed to be a Christian. Too little notice, however, was taken of the clear and evident circumstance that this story was concocted from very apocryphal hearsay-information furnished to that missionary in 1852 by a relative of Hung Siu-ts'uen, who had fled to Hongkong, and that this information was very strongly seasoned by Hamberg with the fruits of his own imagination. Hung Siu-ts'uen, according to this Hamberg legend², was a native of a village in the district of Hwa 化, scarcely thirty miles distant from Canton. He imbibed some Christian ideas from nine sermons or discourses on texts of the Gospel, printed at Canton in 1832 and entitled 勸世良言, "Good Words for exhorting the World", the author of which was one Liang A-fah or Liang Kong-fa, a convert of Dr. Milne's at Malacca. Thereupon he and P'ing Yun-shan, his fellow-convert and friend, became travelling evangelists (p. 62), making excursions for the purpose of baptizing, perhaps no less legendary than their subsequent stay among the Miao-tszë. In 1845 and 1846 we see Hung settled in his native village as a school-master, writing books upon religious subjects (p. 101), preaching and baptizing, until in 1846 he received at Canton some religious instruction from the American missionary Issachar Roberts. Then he again journeyed to Kwangsi, to see his old friend P'ing Yun-shan, who meanwhile had founded a large community of worshippers of God on a so-called Thistle Mount. Their number

1 賊首韋正洪秀泉馮雲山楊秀青胡以洗曾三秀等既訪得確實知其習教伎倆、即當設法懸賞購綫. *Shing hiun*, chap. 68.

2 The Visions of Hung Siu-ts'uen, and Origin of the Kwangsi Insurrection; reprinted in the Chinese and Japanese Repository, vol. I. "Visions of Hamberg", I think, would be a more appropriate title for this romance.

increased day by day. P'ing became a martyr, and for some time was incarcerated as a heretic; but suddenly he and Hung appear at the head of the rebellion¹, and it is added that the latter, in the autumn of 1851, at the conquest of Yung-ngan 永安 in Kwangsi, assumed the title of Emperor of the T'ai-p'ing dynasty (page 158).

Meadows, by allotting to this mixture of gossip and fancy a place in his solid work about "The Chinese and their Rebellions", and Williams, by reprinting it in his much read "Middle Kingdom", have undoubtedly stamped it as reliable in the opinion of many readers. Certainly there is a substratum of truth in all the talk about the Christian character of the T'ai-p'ing movement, the writings promulgated by its leader and his adherents having been found tinged with Christian ideas, which, however, on closer examination, can partly be reduced to Buddhism. Those writings also contained a few allusions to biblical personages, lost in a mass of heathenism and Confucian philosophy. It behoves us, however, to be cautious here. Our conclusion in this case should be the same as is elicited from a careful reading of Meadows' views about this matter (chap. XIX), and from those expressed in 1867 by Mr. Forrest, then English Consul at Ningpo, in an article on "The Christianity of Hung Siu-ts'üen, a Review of Taeping Books", published in the Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Without going as far as enthusiasts who have seen in the T'ai-p'ing rebellion the dawn of a Christian Chinese empire, we accept as the probable result of the insurrection, if it had been successful, the formation of an empire with freedom of religion, where also Christianity would have had free scope. And considering the favourable feeling entertained for the transmarine religion by many sectaries groping for Salvation, this religion might then have made rapid progress among them. But Christian England and France have disposed otherwise. Instead of tendering a helping hand to a nation bloodily persecuted for centuries, in its desperate struggle for liberty of conscience, or, at least, keeping their swords in the sheath, these powers, after the victorious campaign of 1860, marched their forces from Shanghai against the enemy of their enemy. Side by side with the Ever Victorious Army, their troops did their work, while great Gordon

¹ In the *Shing hiun* (chap. 68) we find Hung Siu-ts'üen first mentioned as a rebel chief in a decree of the 5th of the first month (4 Febr.), 1851. He was then operating, together with Wei Ching, in the department of Sin-cheu 潯州, in Kwangsi,

did his in co-operation with Li Hung-chang, then Governor of Kiangsu. This edifying coercion of Christian armies with Confucian heretic-butchers paved the way for the fall of Nanking (19 July, 1864), the residence of the T'ai-p'ing emperor, and for the reconquest of the rebellious provinces, which, of course, the Imperial forces converted into deserts, calling their work pacification. Should our view of the causes of the rebellion be correct; should it in truth have been an effort of a desperate people to throw off a yoke of bloody intolerance and tyranny — will not then the curse of the millions of its victims for ever hover on the European polity of those days?

Our conception of the causes of the T'ai-p'ing insurrection is not refuted by other writers, since none have ever yet suggested any causes which can be said to be anything better than feeble suppositions. Thus far, for half a century after date, the world has had to content itself with Meadows' opinion (chap. XII), that the explosion was due to a landing on the Kwangtung coast of pirates defeated by English ships, and to riots somewhere among the Hakka population of that province, in which Hung Siu-ts'uen and his family were concerned. Two such trifling events would have called the population of nearly half the empire to arms against its emperor and his satraps! Still in 1901 Professor Cordier had no better arguments than these to explain the outbreak¹. Callery and Yvan's book, entitled "*L'Insurrection en Chine*", gives no noteworthy reasons at all for the rebellion; which is surprising, since in this web of inventions a few fabulous statements more or less would have been of no moment. This "source", which appeared in 1853, has been honoured with translations into Portuguese, English, and German! in truth, the *Visions of Hamberg*, too, were translated into English, French and German. The most ludicrous reason for the insurrection we ever saw, was that given by René de Courcy in 1861 in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (vol. 34, p. 20): — the Miao-tszé became restless, for they were descendants of the remnants of the defeated armies of the Ming dynasty, who had taken refuge in the mountains of Kwangsi. Where shrewdness sets to guessing, nonsense is at the door.

As a proof that Sectarianism did play an important part in the rebellion, we would mention the fact that in the latter part of the year 1854, only a few months after two T'ai-p'ing armies had marched from Nganhwui, Honan and Shantung into the very heart of Chihli and quite occupied the attention of

1 "*Histoire des Relations de la Chine avec les Puissances Occidentales*", I, chap. 12.

the Government, nay, strained all its nerves, the emperor and his counsellors still wearied their brains with the promulgation of decrees for the persecution of heretics. In all prefectures, he states in a decree of the 8th day of the tenth month (27 Nov.), the civil and military officers have been sadly deficient in the prosecution of heretics, their money collections, propagation and meetings, with the result that rebellion has broken out on all sides. Hence the Viceroys and Governors shall decree, each of them in his own province, that this forbearance and laxity must finish (*Sh. h.* 92). Until 1860 no decrees are given in the *Shing hiun* about the persecutions, which, no doubt, this decree provoked with fresh vehemence. In that year, a decree of the 13th of the fourth month (3 June) teaches us (*Sh. h.* 93) that certain persons had reported to the Throne that in the province of Shensi, in the department of Hing-ngan 興安, bordering on Hupeh and Szě-ch'wen (map, p. 352), propagandists had arrived from Hukwang three or four years before; these miscreants had frequently changed their names, admonished the people to fast and to invoke the Buddhas, practised their heresies in the dead of night, and attracted great numbers of followers. In the autumn of 1857, according to these same informers, the matter had been reported to the Prefect of Hing-ngan by one of the Directors of Confucian Study (訓導史) in the district of P'ing-li 平利 (map, p. 352). Then the Prefect had sent emissaries to the locality in question, to effect arrests and to institute a prosecution. But only a few of those offenders had on that occasion been caught, and as they were set at liberty after a detention of some ten days, their boldness and intrepidity had increased, and contaminated the department of Han-chung 漢中. Then in this region a seditious person arose, who secretly provided himself and his followers with arms; and the Prefect, deaf to the petitions sent in to him, did not put a stop to these things. The emperor expresses his discontent about the neglect of duty of this official, which thus had resulted in the sects making common cause with the rebellion, still rife in Szě-ch'wen. He ordains that T'an T'ing-siang 譚延襄, acting Governor of Shensi, shall take the most strenuous measures against him; he shall punish this and other indulgent Prefects, and make an example of them, in order to ward off further corruption of the official world.

The Franco-English expedition which conquered Peking in 1860, doubtless roused some hopes among the sectaries in the north:—perhaps the victorious foreigners with their indomitable military

power would dethrone the detested persecutor. But these expectations were not fulfilled; the foreign armies withdrew, and the sects had to help themselves. In the following spring they made a desperate effort to rid themselves of their oppressor, and seeing him weakened by the war, they rose to give him the finishing stroke. The decree of 1854 and the persecutions it had provoked; the heresy-hunt in Shensi, and much more, of which no mention is made in the *Shing hiun*, must have strengthened the people's conviction that by the T'ai-p'ing rebellion nothing had been gained for the cause of religious liberty. Nay, as after the rebellion in the west, the Tartar tyrant would in all probability apply himself anew, with redoubled zeal, to the extermination of these sects, so dangerous to his throne. Possibly also the heretic butchers were already doing their cruel work with ardour, and hastening the outburst; now or never, this was the general cry, let us dethrone the crippled dynasty. A decree of the 16th of the third month (25 April), 1861, (*Sh. h.* 93) tells us that religious rebels (教匪) in Shantung had surprised the cities of Yang-kuh 陽穀 and Kwan-ch'ing 觀城, and entered Kwan-t'ao 館陶 (map, p. 298); that is to say, the region where the rebellions of 1774 and 1813 had been enacted, and where in 1822, and who knows how many times before and after, persecutions had taken place, was now again set ablaze, and made the scene of bloodshed. This rebellion spread rapidly, for, as this same decree tells us, it also infected the districts of Khiu 邱, Sin 莘, Kwan 冠, and Fei-ch'ing 肥城, the Tung-p'ing 東平 department, etc., and, as a decree of the 22nd of the fourth month announces, also the department of Ta-ming 大名, in Chihli. Troops were sent from all sides to the scene of action, and the emperor, once again trembling on his throne, deemed it necessary to prescribe sharper precautionary measures for the maintenance of the security of Peking, and to impress it upon the minds of the Lord Mayor and the Gendarmerie of that city to arrest all suspicious characters. In the districts round the capital also military divisions were set to the work of cleansing. It appears that the rebellion was checked without much extraordinary exertion by the hosts of General Shing Pao 勝保, particularly known as the man who largely contributed to the extermination of the T'ai-p'ing rebels. From a decree of the 13th of the fifth month (20 June) we learn that the insurgent chief Wang Kien-kung 王建功 was captured and put to death with several others, and that the rebels in the two provinces were dispersed. The emperor com-

manded the Viceroy of Chihli, and the Governor of Shantung to keep their Prefects zealously employed in hunting out heresy, and heretics. The former of these magnates was T'an T'ing-siang, the same who (see p. 556) in the previous year, as acting Governor of Shensi, had there suppressed the religious rebellion and prevented the heretics from making common cause with the insurgents in Szě-ch'wen. We may therefore admit that in Chihli too he performed his bloody state-duty with special zeal and energy.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE REIGN OF MUH-TSUNG.

Wen Tsung died in 1861, on the 17th of the seventh month, or the 22nd of August, and was succeeded by his only son, who, since his death in 1875, has been known as Muh Tsung 穆宗; he ascended the throne on the 11th of November; the period of his reign was designated by the name of T'ung chi 同治. At the time of his accession he was four years old, and nominally till 1873, but in effect till his death, he reigned under the tutelage of his mother Ts'zě-hi 慈禧, a concubine of his father's, and Ts'zě-ngan 慈安, his father's chief wife, the empress-dowager. He therefore never personally conducted the persecution-policy instituted and carried on by his predecessors; the persecutions which took place under his reign, must be laid to the charge of his two mothers, who acted their part as regents with unflagging zeal and energy.

The T'ai-p'ing rebellion, broken with foreign help and smothered in streams of blood, had again proved as clearly as possible to the minds of Chinese statesmen how dangerous to the reigning dynasty the religions were, and that therefore political wisdom required them to be exterminated with more determination than was ever displayed before. The restoration of Imperial authority resolved itself chiefly into a merciless destruction of human lives in all the provinces where the rebellion raged; who shall estimate the number of heretics that perished by this bloody work, continued for many years? The *Shing hiun* gives us no particulars on this head, the extermination of heretics being simply included in the great general slaughter. But this collection of edicts contains a few particulars which fully characterize the unaltered spirit dominating the new Government with regard to heresy.

On the 23rd of the eleventh month (24 Dec.) of the very year in which he ascended the throne, the emperor issued the following decree to the Chancery:

"When the insurgents of Yueh (the two Kwang) used their religions to raise disturbances, and thus caused the ignorant

"country people, beguiled by heresies, to throw themselves into the net of the Law, the late Emperor, My Imperial Father, moved by compassion, and wishing to awaken the foolish and the ignorant, in his own person wrote out for this purpose a metrical composition in lines of four characters, sanctioned by My Grandfather Suen Tsung, the Perfect Emperor; and he had it engraved in stone and printed by the Wu-ying tien, and sent out to all the provinces and military governments of the empire to the Viceroy and Governors, the Mayor of Peking, and the Directors of Literary Studies and Examinations, in order that they should instruct the Prefects, the civil and military authorities, and all officials connected with the studies, reverently to observe the same and spread it abroad. Moreover, the ruling officers, the nobility and the people were instructed to promote by their initiative the reprinting of that document, in order that it might flow as a large stream over the provinces, and officials of high and low degree might, of their own accord and with determination, follow its instructions with respect and zeal ⁵.

"But I fear that, as many days have since passed, this document is looked upon as a dead letter; how now to use it for making the hearts orthodox, and good manners and customs abundant? Whereas the rebels of clubs and religious communities in the various provinces are not yet reduced to order, it must speedily be used for bringing about such a reformation for good on a large scale, and for warning the ignorant and the unlearned. Therefore, in every province and every military government, the Viceroy or Governor, in respectful obedience to the declared will of My deceased Father, shall, with regard to that rhythmic version printed at the time, instruct all officials to hold public discourses upon it in the institutions and colleges for study, with observation of the true sense and meaning of it; and they shall further select different graduates of lower degree to go to the market-streets in the cities, to villages and gar-

1 前因粵匪藉教滋事、以致鄉曲愚民惑於異說、自罹法網、我皇考大行皇帝憫念顛愚罔知覺悟、特親書皇祖宣宗成皇帝欽定四言韻文、命武英殿勒石揚印、頒發天下各直省將軍督撫府尹學政、督飭地方文武官員及各學教官欽遵宣布。並令官紳士庶摹勒刊刻、以廣流傳直省、大小官吏自必敬謹奉行。

"risons, and make known this document from house to house
 "and explain it from door to door, in order that all conjointly
 "may enjoy the delights of the celebrated religion (of Confucius).
 "All possible deceptive, erroneous and unclassical talk must no
 "longer inflame and seduce orthodox human hearts, and heresy
 "must thus be precluded — this is the method which should rise
 "as the sun from clouds and mist. Let the readings of the Ampli-
 "fication of the Instructions of the Sage Edict on the 1st and
 "the 15th of each month take place again in accordance with
 "the laws, and let this decree be published everywhere"¹.

That metrical treatise of Suen Tsung, expected to work such wonders upon the hearts of men, I have never seen. Nor have I found any information about the results of that curious Confucian preaching-excursion, undertaken by scholars and students before the doors of illiterate peasantry and townspeople. But we are now sufficiently certain of the fact that also under Muh Tsung Government walked in the Confucian path of anti-heretic polity, which his predecessors had traced out. Actual events corroborate this fact. According to a decree of the 11th day of the intercalary month following on the eighth month of the year 1862, or of October 4 (*Sh. h.* 134), the Viceroy of Kiangnan, Tu Hing-o 都興阿, had reported the arrest of Ts'ao Hwai-fu 曹懷富 and a number of other heretics, the confiscation of many of their religious writings, certificates of membership, etc., etc., and even a square white flag. It is difficult to believe, thus the edict states, that those people are not in secret the allies of the rebels from Kwangtung, who in so large numbers still abide in Kiangnan. A heretic-hunt having commenced with full power in the departments of T'ai 泰 and Yang-cheu 揚州 (in Kiangsu, to the north of the Yangtszë), heretics have escaped from there in all directions; therefore let them be searched for everywhere

¹ 第恐日久視爲具文、奚以正人心而厚風俗。現在各省會教各匪尚未寢息、亟宜廣爲化導以儆愚頑。著各直省將軍督撫等恪遵皇考諭旨、將前次刊刻韻文責成各官紳於學宮書院認真宣講、並選各學生員分赴城市鄉鎮家喻戶曉、俾共知名教之可樂。一切誕妄不經之說無從煽誘正人心而閉邪說、庶蒸蒸日上理也。其每月朔望宣讀聖諭廣訓仍照例行、將此通諭知之。 *Shing hiun*, chap. 10.

with great energy, in order that not a single one escape from the net. Ts'ao Hwai-fu has confessed there are many sectaries in Kiangnan, and that a certain Han Fu-ch'un 韓富春 has from two thousand to twenty thousand disciples; but no such things have been reported by the authorities, nor have they mentioned any names of sects. Let this neglect be redressed as quickly as possible.

Eleven days later another decree appeared relating to this matter (*Sh. h.* 40). Intelligence had been received from the Viceroy, stating that it appeared from the confessions made, that in all probability there was no question of this sect having made common cause with the rebels; and he also asked in how far he had to reckon with the sixth article of the Treaty of Tien-tsin, lately concluded, in which for the Christians free exercise and propagation of their religion had been stipulated; — a proof therefore that he had laid hands on Christians also. The Imperial Government hereby decrees that it is not advisable to organize persecutions on too large a scale, as in the existing state of fermentation they may cause fear and panic amongst the people; but rigorous measures are always to be taken when sectaries should venture to congregate in large numbers, or do wrong things. And with regard to the Christians, the Treaty shall be respected; but a firm stand shall be made against all sectaries who, to screen themselves, pretend to be Christians. In a decree issued four days later (*Sh. h.* 40), this instruction to continue the persecutions with all energy is repeated. Of greater interest is the following edict referring to this matter, dated the 27th of the same month (*Sh. h.* 124):

The confessions of Ts'ao Hwai-fu and the examination of the confiscated writings had clearly proved that his sect only occupied itself with fasting and with practices of Salvation (學道), and that it had leaders and disciples. Their books were merely the Buddhist Hwa-yen Sutra (華嚴經), and such like; there was no question whatever of sedition or opposition against the laws, nor of the distribution of heretical titles and appellations. Their doctrines of retribution and reward, the decree however declares, their reciting of names of Buddhas, their propagation, and their collections of money, grow to be practices so fixed and settled that they become a curse to the land. The Viceroy professes even to have heard that male and female members dress in white, and destroy all the ancestral tablets in their houses, that the sect styles itself Sin-sin kiao 新新教, "the religion of Innovation and Renova-

tion", and that a rebel has confessed to belong to a P'u-tu kiao 普渡教 or "sect of Universal Salvation". The edict goes on to say, if they really take vows to practise virtue, what need then have they of those white garments and of white fans as a mutual sign of recognition; and why do they destroy the soul-tablets? No, those sects shall be prosecuted and exterminated, in order that worse evil be prevented. Further confessions shall be extracted from Ts'ao Hwai-fu and the other prisoners; they shall be forced to betray their fellow-sectaries; Han Fu-ch'un and the other principal culprits shall also be tracked and arrested, and not one shall escape from the net. — No further particulars about this ferocious business are furnished.

Characteristic of the steady progress of religious Sectarianism and the apparent impotence of persecution, is a remarkable decree of the 20th day of the fourth month (14 May) of the year 1865 (*Sh. h.* 136). It announced that a Censor had lately proposed to renew the old rescripts to hold public readings of the Sage Edict at every new moon and full moon, but that then another Censor came, to open His Majesty's eyes to the fact that these readings in Hupeh had become sectarian religious meetings, which it was their object to oppose, meetings of sworn brethren occupying themselves with incense-offerings, collecting contributions, etc. The emperor decreed that such scandals were forthwith to be checked, not only in Hupeh, but everywhere throughout the empire, and that the readings of the Sage Edict should be resumed with renewed energy. Moreover, in all provinces heresies should be persecuted, as well as all kinds of religious fraternities which collected moneys, offered incense, and took oaths of confederacy.

The persecutions thus decreed we may suppose to have raged especially in Hupeh. No wonder that we soon hear of turbulence in this province, nipped however, in the bud. According to a decree of the 25th of the eighth month (3 Oct.) of the next year, (*Sh. h.* 136), Yang Wen-ching 楊汶政 and other heretics were arrested for propagation of the White Lotus religion with the intent of creating a rebellion. This sect, according to their confessions, had its members in all provinces, and had also nestled itself in the Imperial capital for the purpose of causing disturbances. In Hupeh this Yang Wen-ching had given himself out for an Imperial mandarin, but he was apprehended by the Prefect in the Tang-yang district (map, p. 352), with all his servants and followers. This affair — the Imperial decree goes on to say — is of eminent importance. In Peking therefore the Censorate and the Gendarmerie shall institute investigations; all persons men-

tioned by the heretics under detention shall be arrested; not one shall escape from the grip of the law, and the authorities who allow any to go free, shall be punished. Moreover, the Viceroys and Governors of all provinces whither fugitives have fled shall have them rigorously tracked and brought to justice.

Meanwhile, according to a decree of the 29th of the fifth month (11 July), 1866 (*Sh. h.* 136), Chang Liang-ki 張亮基, Governor of Kweichow, had reported the apprehension in this province of a heretic, Liu I-shun 劉儀順 by name, who distributed heterodox writings and had connections in the viceroalties of Kiangnan and Hukwang; his sect, which also extended over Szë-ch'wen, ought to be destroyed, to prevent worse troubles. The Governor, thus decrees the emperor, shall thoroughly investigate the antecedents of this man; he shall arrest all the heretics revealed by him, and those mentioned by name in this decree, without one being allowed to slip through the net. We find nothing further reported of this heresy-hunt. In 1868, according to a decree of the 13th of the second month (*Sh. h.* 46), a Prefect, called Tao Wen 多文, charged with a heresy prosecution, was with some others dismissed on account of neglect of this duty; but it is not stated whether this affair was connected with that of Liu I-shun.

As a testimony to the fact that in 1869 religious liberty was in an equally sad plight as during previous reigns, we refer the reader to the decree of that year, as rendered on page 117. We are compelled to leave our subject here, the *Shing hiun* of the present Kwang sü period, which commenced in 1875, having not yet been published. But the reader will undoubtedly agree with us in disbelieving that the Great Ts'ing dynasty is likely to have abandoned in the last four decades just those political principles with regard to religion and religious liberty, which it has followed for more than two centuries. In fact, we have now read in its own state-papers too much about its spirit of intolerance, too much about its bloody work of persecution, too much about its attempts to exterminate religious communities, to regard the suggestion of such a sudden turn in its policy without a sneer of scepticism.

Our long story of its ferocious cruelty against heretics and sects is, no doubt, far from gratifying, and besides, tedious and painfully monotonous. But as an attempt to afford a firm ground to stand on in the discussion of a problem in the intercourse of foreign powers with China, it had to be built up with solid material derived from Chinese state-documents — and state-

documents are dry and monotonous reading at any time. If I have been fortunate enough to produce something fit to cure politicians of the erroneous notion that China is a country of religious tolerance, I shall feel amply indemnified for my toil, patience, and loss of time in wading through that pile of Imperial decrees. I hope that this work may exhort them to circumspection, should they, as in the T'ai-p'ing rebellion, have again to consider the question whether the Powers must or must not uphold the Confucian tyrant on his throne against his bloodily persecuted people rising in arms against him and his satraps. I trust that Christian nations will then not soil themselves again, their history and their glory, by complicity in the shedding of streams of heretic blood, and, at least, that their leading men will bear in mind that at such a crisis the cause of humanity will be better served by complying with the doctrine of Inactivity or Wu-wei, so highly extolled by the Confucian persecutor himself. And again, to refer to our first pages, may this book produce something useful for the Christian missions, and their endeavours to elevate the weak-minded, who in East-Asia, as everywhere on this earth, form the majority of the human race. May missionaries earnestly consider whether, protected by the Powers against the destructive fanaticism of the State, they ought not to receive charitably into their own pale those poor, struggling sects, groping for Salvation outside Christianity, and whether to this effect these heathen ought not to be welcomed with the same spirit of syncretic tolerance which animates themselves. Finally, may missionary work meet with some less depreciation than it has recently suffered. The courage of men and women who on Chinese soil defy the impending sword of persecution, convinced that thereby they are doing a work of merit serving for the good of their heathen fellow-men, calls for no homage, for there exist even in our halcyon days of vaingloriousness a few things which are above human praise. But it may well be written, that even if we refuse to acknowledge Christian propagation as the necessary consequence of Christianity itself, those men and women deserve something better than the slanderous scorn, in late years showered upon them by ignorant and prejudiced writers. Verily, there is another reason for Chinese persecution of Christians than a legendary or magnified register of missionary sins.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

- Page 17, line 5, *for* identification *read* assimilation.
- „ 22, note, line 1, *for* 吏 *read* 史.
- „ 25, „ „ 4, „ 低 „ 依.
- „ 27, the latter half, ought to be amended in so far as Loh-yang was not the residence of the Wei emperors until A. D. 493, half a century after Wu Tsung had promulgated his orders to persecute Buddhism.
- „ 27, line 28, *read* Yang Huen-chi 楊銜之.
- „ 35. instead of note 3, *read* Chapter 38 fol. 18 of the *Fuh-tsu tung ki* 佛祖統紀, "General Record of the Patriarchs of Buddhism", a church-history in 54 chapters written by the monk Chi-p'an 志磐, who lived in the second half of the thirteenth century.
- „ 43, line 7, *for* 750 *read* 650.
- „ 45, „ 6, *omit* "of the Ts'i dynasty, consort of Wu-ch'ing". She was the consort of Shi Tsung 世宗 of the Northern Wei dynasty, and the mother of Suh Tsung 肅宗 (516—527). In 528, when 'Rh-chu Yung 爾朱榮 crossed the Hwangho with an army to attack the Court, she ordered the ladies of the six harems to embrace religious life, and she cut off her own hair, but she was captured by 'Rh-chu Yung and drowned. See *Wei shu*, chap. 13, folio 18.
- „ 55, line 21, *for* p. 39 *read* p. 45, note 2.
- „ 60, „ 12, „ that nationality *read* whatever class.
for lines 21 and 22 *read* settlements of the Uigurs, and, in the two capitals, all the ruling officers wearing the cap and girdle should sequesterate

Page 66, *for* lines 18—22 *read* the Controllers of the male and female clergy of the Buddhists, as also the Bureau for the Reception and Entertainment of Foreigners, who expound foreign religions, shall compel the 3000 and more Ta-ts'in and Muh-hu-pat to adopt secular life;....

„ 69, at the foot, *add*: This last statement occurs in the Old Books of the T'ang Dynasty in the following terms: “In the eleventh month of the fifth year of the H wui “ch'ang period (845) the emperor ordained, with regard “to the fields for charitable purposes and the wards “for the sustenance of the sick, that, whereas the Bud- “dhist clergy of both sexes had returned to secular “life and therefore no one superintended those fields any “longer, — lest the infirm and the sick should no more “derive any revenue therefrom, fields of convents were “to be measured out for their sustenance in the two “capitals; and in the districts abroad from seven to “ten khing should be assigned for the same purpose. “And every mandarin in his jurisdiction should select “a person from among the elders, to administer (those “fields) and provide those wards with grain” 會昌五年十一月勅悲田養病坊緣僧尼還俗、無人主持、恐殘疾無以取給、兩京量給寺田賑濟、諸州府七頃至十頃、各於本管選耆壽一人勾當、以充粥料. Chap. 18A, fol. 26.

„ 100, line 27, *for* Shi Tsung *read* Shing Tsu.

„ 148, „ 2, „ betray their co-religionists *read* report themselves to the authorities,

Pages 150, and 162 and foll. Since the publication of Volume I, Mr. Paul Pelliot, the learned professor in the Ecole française d'Extrême Orient has greatly increased our knowledge of the White Cloud sect and the White Lotus sect by a treatise, inserted in the “Bulletin de l'Ecole d'Extrême Orient” III, page 304, which I warmly recommend to the reader, also calling attention to the remarkable proofs it affords, that persecution of religious communities was in vogue in China as early as the twelfth century.

Page 164, lines 4—6, *read* In concert with the prince of Siün, named Chang Teh-siang, and other sages, he formed a White Lotus community,

„ 174, *for* Guildhall *read* Goldhall.

- Page 197. The name Lung-hwa or Dragon-flower may represent the sanscrit term Nāgapushpa, the tree under which Maitreya, the Buddha of the future, will sit and turn the wheel of the Law. See Chavannes, "Les Religieux Eminents", page 25.
- " 216, last line, *omit* that.
- " 217, lines 2—9 demand correction. The six precepts of the Sage Edict, to which they refer and which we mention on pages 211—212, are those of a *Shing yü* or Sage Edict promulgated by T'ai Tsu, the founder of the Ming dynasty. Professor Chavannes had the kindness to draw my attention to this fact. He also sent me a fac-simile of an inscribed stone bearing the six prescriptions, each with an exhortative sermon of some ninety characters, composed by T'ai Tsu himself, and with another sermon of one hundred characters in metrical style, besides an illustrated exemplification of about the same size, drawn from history, appended by the statesman Chung Hwa-min 鍾化民, who flourished in the last part of the sixteenth century (see his biography in chap. 227 of the History of the Ming Dynasty). It is written on that stone that, thus commented, the Sage Edict was sent in 1587 to every district of the empire, to be printed and distributed all around in the towns and the country. It seems highly probable that T'ai Tsu's example suggested to Shing Tsu and Shi Tsung the idea of publishing a Sage Edict of their own for the education and civilisation of their people (comp. p. 243). The fact that those six precepts now occupy a place in the initiation-ritual of the Lung-hwa sect, tempts us to admit that this ritual, and thus the sect itself, existed under the Ming dynasty. It deserves notice that they contain no allusions whatever to heresy or persecution.
- " 337, line 36, *for* Hao *read* Hoh.
- " 341, *for* lines 35—38 *read* They halted and camped at a high hillock, five miles off, compelled the villagers to catch (the culprits) and deliver them up, and set fire to several hamlets of innocent people, in order to intimidate them.
- " " *for* line 41 *read* darkness; the army was defeated, and the commanders and officials were killed.

Page 498. Yuen Yuen was the most famous man of letters of his time, a voluminous writer in classical, astronomical and other subjects, and the most generous patron of literature. Through his care and initiative, Chinese literature has been enriched with many valuable works and collections. As Viceroy of Kwangtung and Kwangsi he has rendered himself notorious by his conflicts with English ships and merchants.

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